Special Invasion Issue

FREE WORLD

WILLIAM GREEN • PHILIP MURRAY
MAX WERNER
GENERAL DE SAINT-DIDIER
LOUIS DOLIVET
GENERAL YAKHONTOFF

JULY 1944

AMERICA'S ROLE N A WORLD RGANIZATION

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Ernest K. Lindley
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ALSO

Claude D. Pepper
Orson Welles
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orello H. La Guardia

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AN CARLU

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July-Dec
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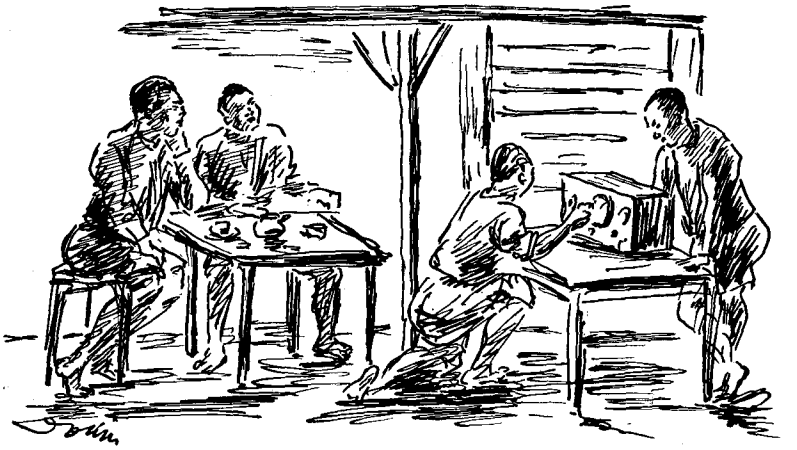
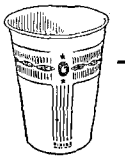


POST-WAR JOBS

It is up to us who enjoy freedom of speech and assembly to see to it that this same privilege is carried to other peoples who have been under the yoke of government censorship for years, or who have never known the rights of freedom. Only when the human rights of ALL are duly respected—by all governments and all groups—can the human rights which we fought to attain and are fighting to hold be fully and continuously enjoyed.



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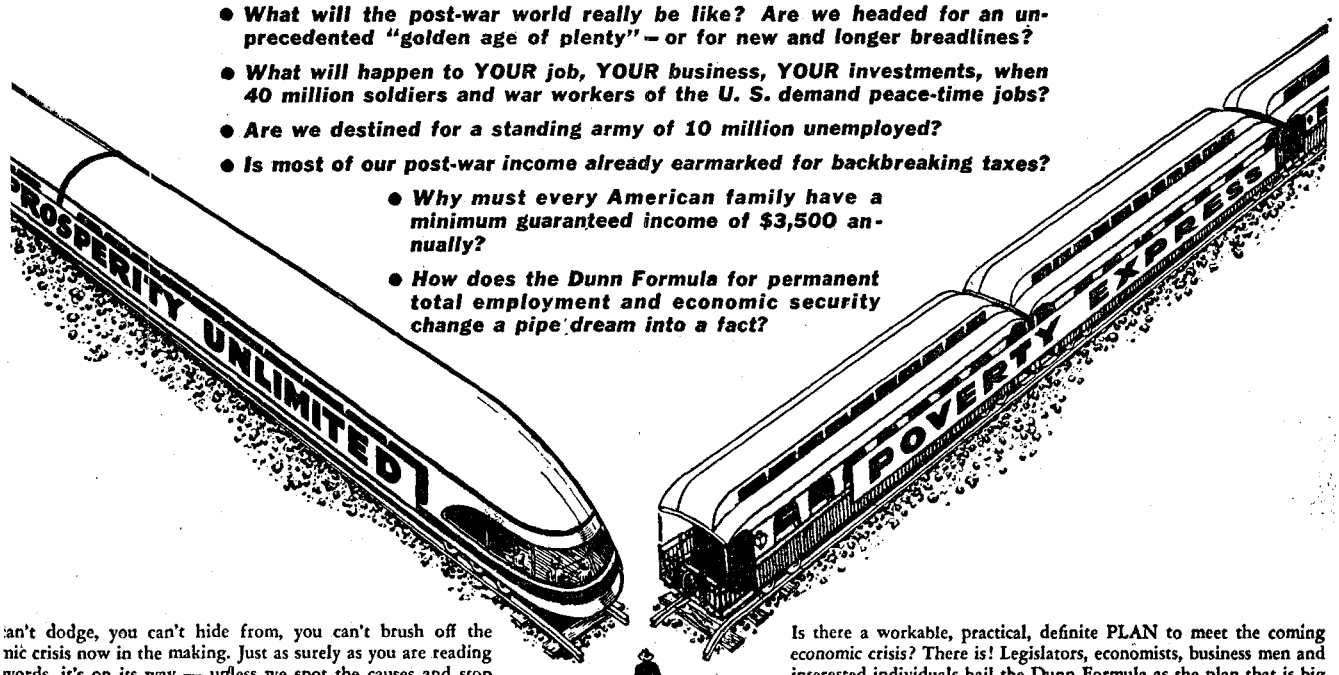
After the War

WHICH TRAIN DO WE TAKE?

- ***What will the post-war world really be like? Are we headed for an unprecedented "golden age of plenty" — or for new and longer breadlines?***
- ***What will happen to YOUR job, YOUR business, YOUR investments, when 40 million soldiers and war workers of the U. S. demand peace-time jobs?***
- ***Are we destined for a standing army of 10 million unemployed?***
- ***Is most of our post-war income already earmarked for backbreaking taxes?***
- ***Why must every American family have a minimum guaranteed income of $3,500 annually?***
- ***How does the Dunn Formula for permanent total employment and economic security change a pipe dream into a fact?***

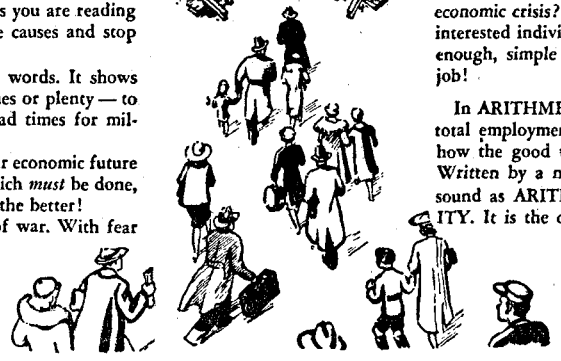


can't dodge, you can't hide from, you can't brush off the nic crisis now in the making. Just as surely as you are reading words, it's on its way — unless we spot the causes and stop r while we can.

ITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION minces no words. It shows XACTLY what it is that *can* lead to breadlines or plenty — to Democracy or dangerous dictatorship — to bad times for mil- or good times for all.

eace, when it comes, is to be permanent, if your economic future e *lastingly* secure, there are certain things which *must* be done, te changes which *must* be made. The sooner the better!

member — unemployment is the root cause of war. With fear dread, all of us, now employed, look ahead e colossal problem of post-war unemploy- . This problem, if not solved, carries with it hreat of revolution and another World War. what do your political and industrial leaders ose to do about it? What do YOU propose about it?



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THE BOOK THAT WILL SOLVE THE COMING ECONOMIC CRISIS *By* **ARTHUR DUNN**

ARTHUR DUNN

A WORD ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Few who have hailed or damned him as an "idealist" or called him names for some of his liberal views, realize that Arthur Dunn is a noted corporation lawyer, a champion of free enterprise, "by environment and temperament an *individualist*." With forty-six successful years at the Bar to his credit, Mr. Dunn has served as attorney or director for public utilities, coal mines, industrial companies, banks and railways. He is a distinguished Constitutional authority. Mr. Dunn maintains (and proves in terms of simple arithmetic) that free enterprise can flourish only if we solve, NOW, the political and economic problems of the coming crisis. Mr. Dunn has achieved international distinction as an economist, as a syndicated newspaper writer, lecturer, and author of such widely noted books as "Thirty Million Jobs."

A Partial Glimpse of the Contents

The bloody cycle — How we came to be in the mess we are in
What the isms really mean
What do you want most?
Fascism in the United States
Labor's struggle for freedom
The employer's side of the table
The danger from pressure groups
"That iniquitous Treaty of Versailles"
A global war — A global peace
World parliament
The global police force
The truth about Russia
Race prejudice and unemployment
War profits and "Blood Money"
How about the lend-lease billions?
World peace through world trade
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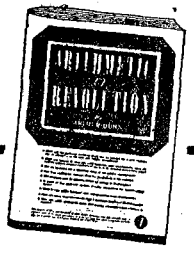

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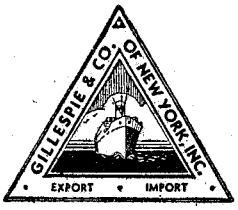

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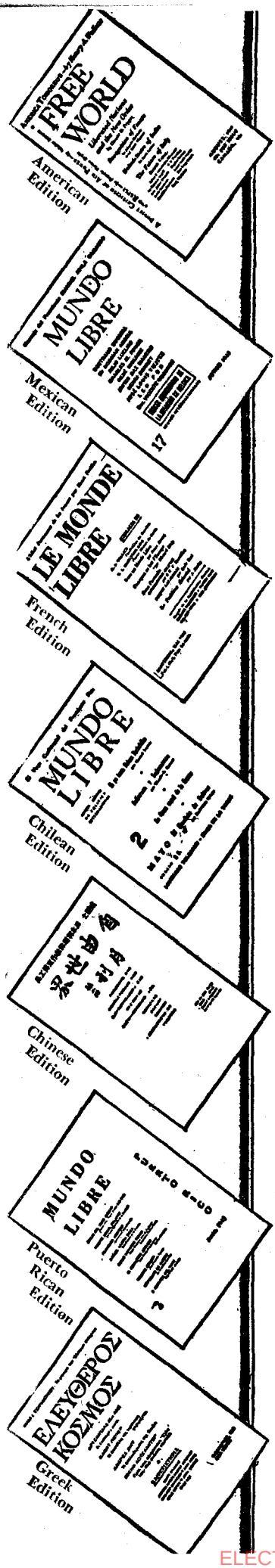

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FREE WORLD

A Monthly Magazine

devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

Published in eight editions

VOLUME VIII, No. 1 **JULY, 1944**

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FREE WORLD is owned and published monthly by FREE WORLD, INC., Chairman, Dr. Li Yu Ying; Executive Vice Chairman, Hugh Moore; Vice Chairman J. Alvarez del Vayo; Treasurer, Frederick C. McKee; Secretary, Dr. Wousatong, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y. 40 cents a copy: $4.00 a year; $7.00 two years $9.00 three years; Canadian and foreign postage $2.00 a year additional. Volume VIII, Number 1, July, 1944. Copyright, 1944 by FREE WORLD, INC. All rights reserved; reproduction in whole or in part prohibited without permission. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. FREE WORLD is printed in the United States of America by Charles Francis Press, Inc., New York City. Entered as second class matter September 17, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Nocturne

Estranged from self and yet
Not near enough to God,
Stark on a parapet,
He views the vacant sod

In which grass grew long since
And may be growing still.
He feels his memory wince
Within his darkened will,

He feels the wish to quicken
His hands with growing things,
But people quake, are stricken,
And not a linnet sings.

Where are the birds whose motion
Was more than people are?
Their wings traverse an ocean,
Their bills are wet with war.

He feels his eyes blood-wet,
Trying still to have heard,
Trying not to forget,
The love-song of a bird.

Witter Bynner

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EDITORIALS

Light in Darkness

FREEDOM in the West of Europe begins at Bayeux. The road back to Paris, Prague, Brussels and Oslo—to the capitals of freedom—has been opened there. Only the day when the Axis lays down its arms, only the day of Armistice, will transcend in importance the already historic date of June 6, 1944.

Who will ever be able to relate what the people of Europe—the men and women in the concentration camps, prisons, slave gangs and ghettos—must have felt when they heard the news of the invasion? What actor could capture and reproduce that smile of happiness, the first in a thousand dark days, which must have lit up the faces of the enslaved like a sun's ray breaking through a dark sky?

The dream of four years, and for some people the dream of twenty-two years, is becoming a living reality. The road is still long and hard, but it is only a matter of time until the journey of liberation is completed.

Hitler Germany and her satellites at present are facing four powerful fronts: (1) The front on the beachheads of France; (2) The vast Eastern front; (3) The front in Italy; and last but not least, (4) The front of the Underground. Fascism is learning an important lesson the hard way. It is learning the lesson that free peoples, in spite of the many mistakes they may make, are capable at a given moment of mustering much greater physical strength than the most ruthless tyrant. It is learning that free people never can be completely enslaved. How often has the Underground been declared dead and destroyed by the Axis? And yet at present every German commander, every puppet from Pétain to Quisling, from Degrelle to Neditch, is shivering at the very thought of the Underground. They are more afraid of it than they are of the invasion armies, and the last hope to which they cling is that the armies of the United Nations will protect them from the people.

Yes, the people, the plain common people, are the eternal threat, the source of fear, the sword of Damocles that hangs over every tyrant. The more frightened the tyrant, the more ruthless his methods of repression. But one day he knows he must face the people.

As soon as the Allied armies reach more densely populated areas, this writer is convinced there will be a mass uprising on a very large scale. Already the reports concerning Toulouse, Tarbes, Bellegarde and Lyon indicate that the Underground is using every opportunity to weaken the enemy, to create disorder behind his lines and to tie down an increasing number of military divisions for police duty. When one thinks of the Russian Guerrillas, of the Yugoslav Partisans, one realizes what the Under-

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ground can do. We predict, as we have done ever since the first publication of this magazine, that before the invasion is completed the Underground will have played a big military and political role in the defeat of the Axis.

With the military invasion well under way, the problem of political warfare and the preparation of permanent foundations for the peace appear to us of greatest urgency. We hope that a conference of the four major powers will be held soon, followed by an overall United Nations conference. From a psychological point of view it would seem even better to call a plenary United Nations conference now, to meet immediately after the big four. This would put an end to the many fears of a new power combination, and would prove conclusively that the United Nations are more than a wartime alliance. Such a conference would create some problems of representation, but we firmly believe that none of them presents a major obstacle. There are no difficulties as far as Norway, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg are concerned and no one has contested the legality of their governments-in-exile. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, no serious observer challenges the fact that President Benes represents the overwhelming majority of his country.

As for France, the recent meeting of the International Labor Office, where Mr. Adrien Tixier headed the delegation of the French Committee of National Liberation, set the precedent for inviting General de Gaulle and his provisional government as temporary representatives until the people of France can express their will in free elections.

The only problem countries would be Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece. In the case of all three, the necessity of getting rid of the old pro-fascist element and of achieving democratic unity would be accelerated rather than delayed by a United Nations conference. As that conference would be only provisional, until such time as the freed countries can elect their regular governments, there is no danger of committing the people without their consent. The effect on the people concerned would be overwhelming, as they would have the assurance that once they are freed their voice will be heard in the United Nations councils. Any armistice terms with Germany would thus have much greater authority because they would reflect the will of all instead of that of a few of the United Nations. Furthermore, we are convinced that such a step would accelerate the democratic revolution in Europe and the breakdown of the Axis and its satellites.

LOUIS DOLIVET

Race Hate Must Be Outlawed

IN the years between Versailles and Munich, there was an argument common among the Englishmen, Frenchmen and Americans as to who won the war. Nobody won that argument for the sufficient reason that nobody won that war. This time there won't be any argument; whose advance is greatest toward Democracy, that nation will be counted victor. Hers will

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be the first claim on the peace. The coming century belongs to that nation. We aspire to that leadership, and there's worth and honor in our ambitions for an American century. It should be ours—not for empire and squeeze—but for fulfillment of high tasks begun in 1776. Only the wasting sickness of disunity, the pestilence of race hate, can cheat our children out of that fulfillment.

This war is fought against the source, the very causes of race hate. These are military objectives or this war is without end, without meaning and without hope.

We are persuaded that our fight is against denial of man's equal dignity, men and women so persuaded are dying on the battlefronts. We've sent them little bottles of our blood and we've bought bonds, but tomorrow morning we expect to wake up to another prosperous day, and they will be dead.

Who says there's nothing we can do about it?

If we can't die in behalf of progress, we can live for it. Progress we Americans take to mean a fuller realization of democracy. The measure of progress as we understand it is the measure of equality enjoyed by all men. We can do something about that.

The way our fighting brothers and sisters look at it, some of them dying as you read this—the way they look at it, we're lucky. And they're right. We're lucky to be alive, but only if our lives make life itself worth dying for. We must be worthy of our luck or we are damned. Our lives are spared, but this is merely the silliest of accidents unless we put the gift of life to the hard employments of justice. If we waste that gift we won't have where to hide from the indignation of history.

Civilians are the architects of peace, and there's more to our job than keeping the chromium and plastic promises of the advertisements. Our fighting brothers and sisters who come back home won't be sorry to find a television set in the kitchen and two helicopters in the garage; but democracy isn't operated by gadgets, and progress can't be measured by the toys of peace.

Our continent, sanctified to the uses of liberty, has beeen named the new world. For most of the races of man this is a new place to live in. For all races it promises a second chance.

Much is against us on the records: we oppressed the Indian, we stole the Black Man from his home and held him in bondage. Our sins matched patterns and examples, though; we begot more life than we destroyed, and the fragrance of American freedom rose over the stench of butchery. If the conquerors and slavers left us a mad strain of hate—hate by the sons of slavers for the sons of slaves—we've told our children that this was hate from the old world, that in our climate it must finally perish.

But that old world is losing its last war. Already through the smoke of burning cities, east of us and west of us, we mark worlds newer than our own, entering the future upon a rivalry with us.

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Our Republican splendor in this new age will shine by its own virtues, not by virtue of contrasting tyranny, and what was excused in us before is no longer excusable. The morality of the auction block is out of date. There is no room in the American century for Jim Crow.

The times urge new militancy upon the democratic attitude. Tomorrow's democracy discriminates against discrimination; its charter won't include the freedom to end freedom.

What is described as "feeling" against some races can't be further respected. "Feeling" is a ninnyish, mincing way of saying something ugly, but the word is good enough for race hate when we add that it's a feeling of guilt.

Race hate isn't human nature; race hate is the abandonment of human nature. But this is true: we hate whom we hurt and we mistrust whom we betray. There are minority problems simply because minority races are often wronged. Race hate, distilled from the suspicions of ignorance, takes its welcome from the impotent and the godless, comforting these with hellish parodies of what they've lost—arrogance to take the place of price, contempt to occupy the spirit emptied of the love of man. There are alibis for the phenomenon—excuses, economic and social—but the brutal fact is simply this: where the racist lie is acceptable there is corruption. Where there is hate there is shame. The human soul receives race hate only in the sickness of guilt.

The Indian is on our conscience, the Negro is on our conscience, the Chinese and the Mexican-American are on our conscience. The Jew is on the conscience of Europe, but our neglect gives us communion in that guilt, so that there dances even here the lunatic spectre of anti-semitism.

This is deplored; it must be fought, and the fight must be won.

The poll tax is regretted; it must be abolished. And poll tax thinking must be outlawed.

This is a time for action. We know that for some ears even the word "action" has a revolutionary twang, and it won't surprise us if we're accused in some quarters of inciting to riot. FREE WORLD is very interested in riots. FREE WORLD is very interested in avoiding them.

We call for action against the cause of riots. Law is the best action, the most decisive. We call for laws, then, prohibiting what moral judgment already counts as lawlessness.

American law forbids a man the right to take away another's right. It must be law that groups of men can't use the machinery of our Republic to limit the rights of other groups—that the vote, for instance, can't be used to take away the vote.

It's in the people's power to see to it that what makes lynchings and starts wars is dealt with, not by well-wishers, but by policemen.

For several generations, maybe, there will be men who can't be weaned from the fascist vices of race hate. We should deny such men responsibility

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in public affairs exactly as we deny responsibility to the wretched victims of the drug habit. There are laws against peddling dope; there can be laws against peddling race hate.

That every man has a right to his own opinion is an American boast. But race hate isn't an opinion; it's a phobia. It isn't a viewpoint; race hate is a disease. In a people's world the incurable racist has no rights. He must be deprived of influence in a people's government. He must be segregated as he himself would segregate the colored and semitic peoples—as we now segregate the leprous and the insane.

Anything very big is very simple. If there's a big race question, there's a big answer to it, and a big answer is simple like the word "no."

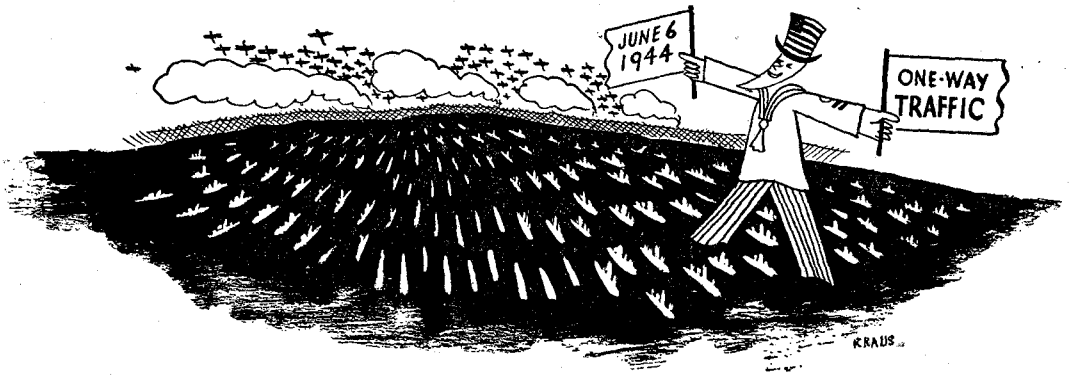
This is our proposition: that the sin of race hate be solemnly declared a crime.

What makes this difficult is the conservative fear of raising issues. Let's admit that this fear is often no more sinister than an honest dread of going to the dentist. But let's respect the effectiveness of reactionary manipulations of that fear, which is the fear of anarchy and revolution. It is put to wicked use against the same general welfare conservative opinion seeks to protect. Forced to acknowledge Hitler's enmity, conservatives are loathe to admit that even as he surrenders in Europe, he may succeed in America. Let conservatives evaluate the impudent candor of fascism in Argentina and be reminded that the heroic survival of our liberty is no proof of its immortality.

Our liberty has every day to be saved from marauders whose greed is for all things possessed by the people. Care of these possessions is the hope of life on this planet. They are living things, they grow—these fair possessions of democracy—and nothing but death can stop that growth. Let the yearners for the past, the wilfully childish, learn now the facts of life, the first of which is the fact of that growth.

In our hemisphere the growing has begun, but only just begun. America can write her name across this century, and so she will if we, the people—brown and black and white and red—rise now to the great occasion of our brotherhood.

ORSON WELLES



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THE END OF THE ROAD

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A PRIMER OF STRATEGY

Invasion *Spells* Victory

By MAX WERNER

TOTAL war is today the inevitable lot of Germany. The logic of war wills that in the invasion of Western Europe battles of ever-increasing intensity shall develop, with the possible opening of other fronts—in other words, a struggle in which all resources are thrown into the balance. The invasion is an operation decisive in character which can neither be stopped nor extended over an indeterminate period. There is no way to conduct it on a small scale. The invasion battle must be either lost or won, but it cannot end in a draw. Such a battle excludes all pause, all strategic interruptions or a checkmate. It is a race to deliver the knockout blow before the enemy has a chance to concentrate his forces.

The German Army cannot temporize. If it does not succeed in repulsing the adversary in a time measured in weeks, the Allies can bring all their might to bear. Loss of speed in the German defensive rhythm signifies loss of the campaign in Western Europe. In the invasion operation the risks are great on both sides, but those which confront the German Army are by far the greater. The best it can hope for is a return to the strategic status quo which existed before the invasion, that is, the possession of the coastal defense lines. Meanwhile, a serious reverse suffered by the German defense would signify the loss of the war. One might say that Germany cannot win the battle of the West but she can lose it. Or, the anti-Hitlerite coalition can win the war of the West but cannot lose it.

The strategic purpose of the Germans in Western Europe can be neither the stabilization of the front close to the coast where it now is, nor a retreat into the interior, which would permit a deeper penetration of the Allied forces. Their objective must be to stop the invasion and to turn it into a Dunkirk on a gigantic scale. The German Army cannot withstand the unfolding of a vast war in which the enemy's rear is safe. The German Army cannot stand an enormous bloodletting in the West, in view of the fact that it has been frightfully bled in the East and that fresh trials await it on the Soviet front. It cannot stand losses in the West even in a proportion equal to those of its adversary because it relies upon considerably less reserves. In short, the Allied menace to strategic and industrial centers in Europe constitutes the very greatest of dangers for the German Army. Here the German Army cannot find the space it had on the Eastern front to maneuver a retreat. A break-through of a hundred miles in depth could decide the

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issue in the West. If the German Army lost Paris as a base of communications, it would by the same stroke lose the West and North of France. If it should be forced to fight a retreat along the frontiers of Holland and Belgium, the industrial regions of the Ruhr and the Rhine would be exposed.

Thus one can be sure that the German Army will seek not just to slow down the invasion and to inflict the greatest possible losses on its assailants. By every means, it must attempt to throw the enemy back into the sea as soon as possible. The Germans are thus obliged to conduct in the West a sort of absolute campaign of clinging stubbornly to the terrain all along the coastline. Evidently the Germans will also try to so maneuver that they cede the least terrain possible, as they are now doing in Normandy, while they seek to prepare a counter thrust.

Von Runstedt, like Rommel, is known for his fondness for daring maneuvers. But the chances for a German counter-maneuver are dependent on the balance of force, and this cannot long be anything but unfavorable to Germany. German propaganda, which had never foreseen the rapid success of the Allies on the Normandy beachhead, had also never said that the battle of the West would be won in the interior of Fortress Europe. At full blast the Germans had declared that it would be on the shores of Europe they would win their first victory. They knew full well that it would be too late to unfold a counter-maneuver when they faced superior forces of the enemy in the interior of the Continent.

Meanwhile, we must have a clear conception of the development of operations in this Western campaign. Two major phases are to be expected there.

Allies Need Space

In the first, the Allies must conquer the marshaling ground in which to deploy our forces. We must secure a large continental base of operations. With a broad coastal area in our hands, transportation to landing points will become safe and not involve fighting. We have to win in shortest time the race for the concentration of power on continental soil needed for defense as well as for the offensive. In this phase, a continuous land front must be established. In this period, the allied operations will be of mixed, offensive-defensive type. They are offensive because they have to wrest from the enemy large coastal areas, and they are defensive because they imply the warding off of an inevitable German counter-offensive.

In the second phase of the Allied campaign in Western Europe, the main goal will be to overrun the German defenses—not the coastal fortifications but the defenses inside Europe. This will be a purely offensive stage of the operations and will be aimed at destroying definitively the German mobile mass of reserves and at conquering Germany's main strategic and economic centers in the West.

We may grasp the meaning of this conclusive phase of the battle for Western Europe by regarding it in the light of the previous experience of the war and of its coming new dynamics. We know from the Russian front and from the Tunisian campaign how victories against the Wehrmacht are won. But the Western campaign will be unprecedented in many tactical and strategic respects. This front has many peculiar conditions. The creation of a combined East-West theatre of war encircling Germany and the tremendous pouring of forces into action in the West for the first time will change the entire course of events. The war in the West must be viewed to the end as a sequence of battles steadily increasing in intensity. On the Allied side it will be decided by: (1) full use of our power; (2) elastic and adequate offensive tactics; (3) mastery of the battle of movement; (4) domination of the entire theatre of war; (5) an unorthodox warfare; (6) full development and exploitation of the war of coalition.

Let us analyze item after item these characteristics of the Western campaign. Tactical situations may change rapidly on the coast lines extending from the Spanish-French frontiers to Denmark. There will be setbacks for both belligerents. But there will be an inexorable general trend in the battle for Western Europe. These will be its main features and main requirements:

The structure of our fighting forces is more differentiated and more complete than that of the Wehrmacht. The Wehr-

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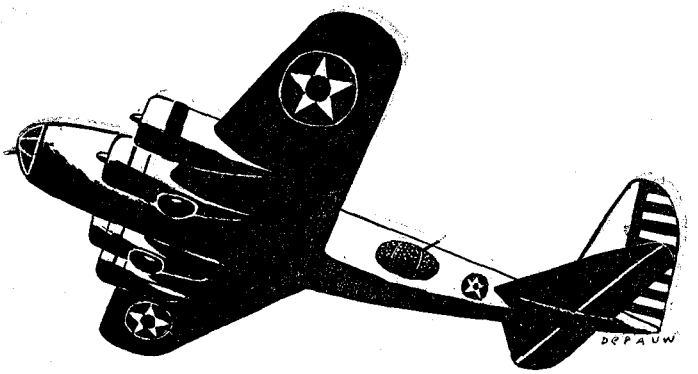

macht is essentially a land army, while the Anglo-American fighting forces are a three-dimensional war machine, a powerful combination of sea, air and land power.

We have to use fully and adequately our superiority on sea and in the air, in order to enhance our opportunities in the land fighting. Our naval power is not merely an instrument for sea transportation or the control of the sea. It is an implement with which to fight for the coasts and with which to execute maneuvers from the sea, to give the land power the possibility of outflanking the enemy.

We Excel in Air Power

OUR air power is incomparably superior to that of the enemy and is not merely an instrument for strategic bombardment of German economic centers or a weapon of air support of the troops on the battle field. It gives us the ability to wage the battle in depth, first striking against the military objectives in the German rear; and second, permitting the vertical envelopment of the enemy by air-borne troops. An army that possesses a vast air transport can not only run forward with motor vehicles but can jump through the air.

Thus the maneuvers of our land troops can be executed through the sea and in the air, and the Anglo-American superiority in both these spheres will increase the mobility of our armies. We have to strive for full deployment of our forces on the European continent in order to achieve numerical superiority over the Wehrmacht and surpass it with our mechanized equipment. With this goal attained, the Anglo-American armies can reckon on higher maneuverability given them by their superior motor power on the sea, in the air and on the land.

Yet in its military essence, the Western campaign will be a contest between two land war machines. This will be the hardest test for Anglo-American weapons. The German Army can be beaten only by a superior team of offensive weapons. This means a team of infantry, tanks, artillery, aviation and engineers cooperating.

The combination of weapons in the defense and in the offensive is essentially the same, as was proved by the German theorist, General Fieldmarshal von Leeb, and likewise by the experience of the Red Army. Tactical elasticity consists first in the ability to shift from defense to offensive and vice versa; second, in the choice of an adequate combination of weapons to meet the need of the situation. We shall have to withstand perhaps many, but at least one, big German counter-offensive. In the defense the Anglo-American forces have not only to hold the terrain but to weaken the counter-attacking Wehrmacht to the greatest possible extent. With this wearing down of German strength we will prepare our next offensive.

Our anti-tank defense against the onslaught of the counter-attacking Wehrmacht will be a team work of artillery, infantry and aviation. In our counter-offensive, we shall have to smash first the German anti-tank defense, and this must be done by the team of artillery, infantry and engineers. With the German anti-tank defense broken, our offensive team of tanks, infantry, mobile artillery and aviation is ready to enter into play.

Weapons are interchangeable. There are fortifications which must be destroyed by massed artillery fire and air bombardment. And there are other fortifications which can be overrun by a "light" team of assault

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engineers, paratroopers, small infantry units especially trained for close-quarter fighting and a few mobile guns firing at point-blank range.

As the experience on the Russian front has demonstrated beyond a doubt, the Wehrmacht knows no effective defense against an aggressive modern infantry, the break-through of powerful tank forces and concentrated artillery fire. In the West, too, the issue of the battles will depend on the offensive capacity of the Allied infantry. In the West, too, the tanks will be the spearhead of the maneuver, and the concentrated artillery fire will have to hold down the enemy.

A War of Movement

THE battles waged in Normandy are intended to give us the possibility for a concentration of our forces. Once this is achieved, our main operational task will be to succeed in the war of movement against the enemy, not to allow the Wehrmacht stabilization of the German front.

The way for maneuver can be opened by the outflanking of the enemy front or by the break-through. The German front can be outflanked by pressure in land fighting, or by additional landings, every one of them being a blow against the German rear. Natural conditions favor the war of movement in Western Europe. All kinds of mobile weapons, aviation, tanks, motorized infantry, mobile artillery, will play a relatively larger part on our side than on the Russian front. It can be expected that the Anglo-American Armies in the West will have the highest ratio of saturation with mobile weapons. Taking into consideration the short distances, even a limited maneuver can bring far-reaching results.

We will strive for two kinds of objectives in the West: the military and the territorial. Operations in a war of movement are especially fitted to attain both of them. Our main military objectives will be to smash the German mass of mobile reserves, counting perhaps from 12 to 15 divisions. Then defeat of the German defense along the outstretched coast lines engaging the bulk of the Wehrmacht in the West will become inevitable. Rommel's army of mobile reserves will be thrown against the Anglo-American forces, probably twice. For the first time, in a counter-attack against the main landings; then, in a defensive action attempting to stop the Anglo-American offensive. This may be the decisive battle of the war because Rommel's army of mobile reserves is actually the last bastion of the German defense.

But this war which presents so many peculiarities from the military standpoint is not limited to the battle in the West, and that is something which we must always keep in mind. The German High Command cannot entirely concentrate on the defense of the West. It must be ready for concentrated attacks from all directions. It is not just a matter for the German generals of defending the Channel or the Atlantic coasts. They must defend the European continent. However, at the present moment, taking into consideration the balance of forces, this is a task beyond the limits of possibility for the Germans. The German High Command must also consider the necessity of defending not only Paris, but also Lyons where it fears an attack which might be delivered along the Rhone from the South.

The armies of Marshal Tito are predestined to become the link between the Mediterranean theatre of the Allies and the Southern front of the Red Army. For the outcome of the war, it makes little difference at what point the German front collapses first. He who defends himself sees danger everywhere that he is unable to beat back a break-through in depth by his assailant. This is why, during this summer of 1944, there is no front which is secondary or which is less exposed for the German Army.

The distribution of German reserves has become an impossible task for the High Command to solve. It must look forward to an attack of the Red Army even more powerful than that of 1943-44. In the East, the very existence of the main forces of the German Army hangs in the balance. In the West, it is the strategic and industrial centers that are exposed. The German Army cannot establish a defensive front in the West if it is defeated in the East. It cannot resist on the Russian front if its resistance force is broken in the West.

For Germany, the peril is everywhere.

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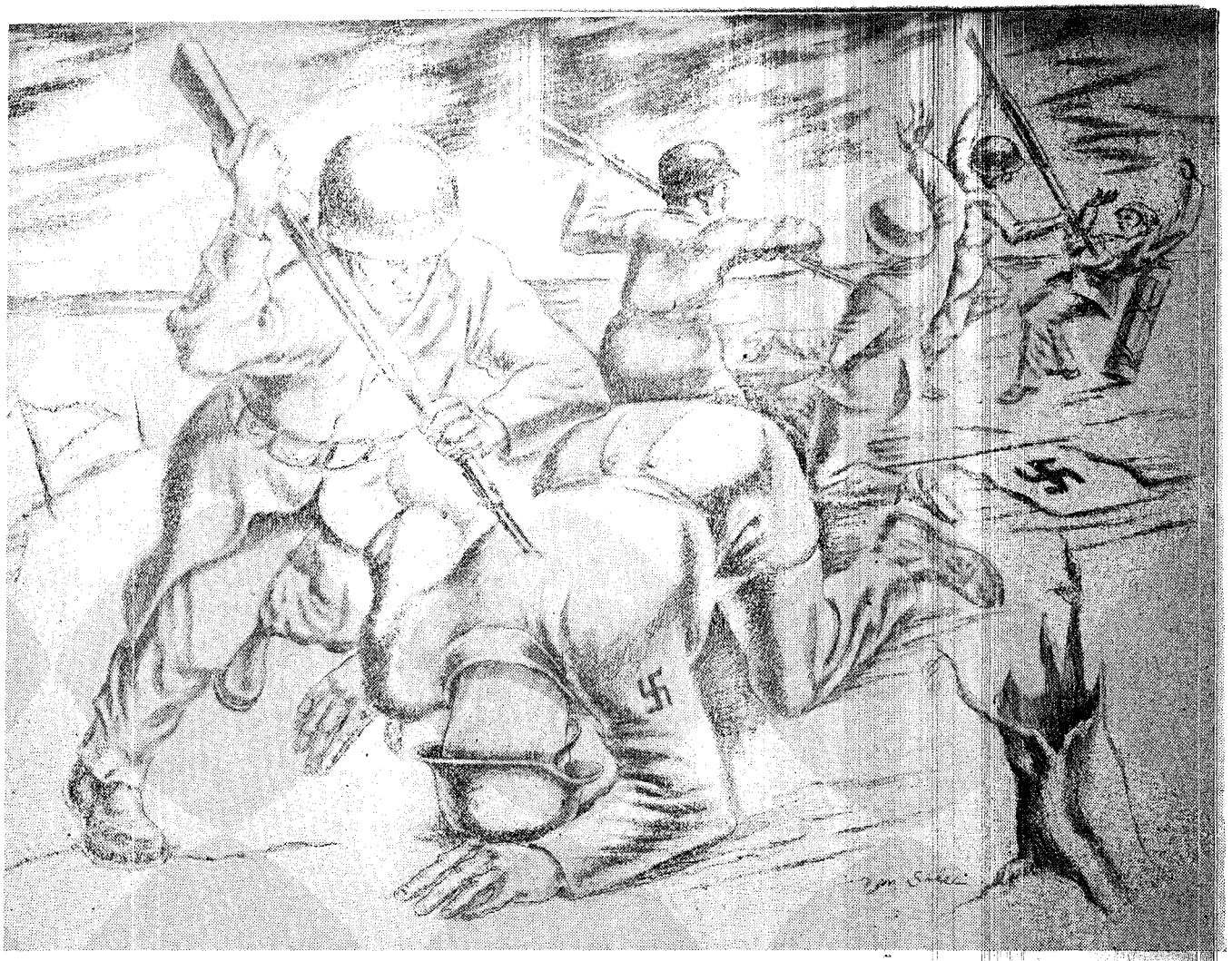

From the EAST ★ SOUTH ★ WEST

BY GENERAL VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF

THE invasion of Europe is under way. The tension created by delays, postponements and recurring doubts and hopes is now definitely relieved. The awful price in men and materiel, paid by our heroic Soviet ally, by the stout-hearted Chinese and by gallant guerrillas in Europe and Asia, made it possible for our leaders to continue their preparations as long as was necessary to ensure success. Every phase of the operation was thoroughly considered and plans were worked out in minutest detail before the attack on Fortress Europe was launched.

We must remember that the invasion came immediately after the victories in Italy, with the fall of Rome, and continued advance of the Allies beyond the Eternal City. It occurred when Hitler had barely had time to recuperate from the terrible beating his armies had suffered on the Russian front with very little respite for

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almost a year. The landings of the allied forces in Europe mean not simply another serious blow for the Germans but the ushering in of a new and possibly final phase of this war of coalition.

A coalition war has always been recognized by students of military affairs as extremely difficult. History reveals numerous examples of the impossibility of coordinating the military operations of the various partners in such a war. During World War I, for a long time, the Allies suffered from the lack of a unified command. Only near the end of the war was this remedied by establishment of a High Command under Marshal Foch, facilitating the final defeat of the Central Powers.

In World War II we again suffered for a long time from the same error. Gradually we came to form certain approximations to a united command by creating an Anglo-American unit of Combined Chiefs of Staffs and the Pacific War Council. The next step in the right direction was the creation of the Supreme High Command to lead military operations in Europe and in the Mediterranean. Even so, our most important ally, the Soviet Union, was not as yet included in any permanent council, and this in spite of the fact that its front continued to be the main one. At least two-thirds of the German Army were pinned at the Eastern front by the furiously and very successfully fighting Russians.

There were moments during the 1941-2, 1942-3 and 1943-4 successful Russian winter campaigns as well as during the summer and fall campaigns of 1943 when coordinated effort might have brought the end of Hitler's Wehrmacht. Lack of coordination permitted Hitler to recuperate and to renew his attacks.

There was a moment coinciding with the Ottawa Conference, when the partnership of the Allies seemed very shaky. Fortunately this uncomfortable situation was not allowed to develop further. At Ottawa it was definitely decided to improve relations by personal contacts between the leaders of the coalition. The Moscow and Teheran Conferences achieved gratifying results and helped to bring about the necessary coordination of action. Through these meetings a definite understanding was reached about the hastening of victory by military action from the East, South and West. Coordinated action from these three directions has now begun and therefore the chances for speedy victory are very high indeed.

Landing Operations

THE mere landing constitutes but the initial stage of the invasion operation. Its main purpose is to defeat the armed forces of the enemy, annihilating them or compelling their surrender. After the invading armies have secured the beachheads and consolidated them by fortifications they have to meet first the enemy troops assigned for the coastal defense, then the local tactical reserves, while their own reinforcements arrive and disembark under the protection of those who landed before them and of the various aircraft and naval units.

The comparative ease with which our invading troops enlarged the beachheads and occupied a number of communities demonstrated their fighting valor. It also revealed that the enemy defenses were not of such formidable nature as some overcautious "experts," for whatever reason, would have had us believe.

One of our war correspondents, Richard D. McMillan of the United Press, declared in a dispatch from the beachhead, "What surprised us most was the weakness of the German defense line. I examined with great care the so-called Atlantic Wall along this coast. It constitutes the biggest bluff of the whole war, for it simply does not exist." This description, even if correct, tells only what the author saw near Bayeux in Normandy. It does not necessarily hold good for the entire coast. It does, however, indicate that those of us were right who insisted that no continued strong fortifications were possible along this enormously extended coastline. It may also indicate that our Intelligence Service found the weak spots and that Headquarters, with the proper information, was able to select the correct starting point for the operation.

The comparative ease of the landings established one other fact. Apparently enemy troops charged with the task of manning the first coastal line of defense were not

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particularly strong, and their artillery was not as formidable as those same "experts" asserted. German forces on the Eastern front were estimated at a very high figure. Their recent losses on that front were enormous, judging by the ferocity of the fighting, the duration of the fighting and the results. Accordingly the Germans could not maintain very large contingents in the West. Whatever they had there was scattered over several countries and over such a large space that their defenses had to be limited, particularly on the side where the German propagandists stubbornly refused to expect serious action.

Naturally German resistance stiffened as soon as they had time to bring up some of their reserves, and our further progress was made somewhat more difficult. Thus, the penetration inland was temporarily slowed down because our most important task, that of bringing more and more troops and equipment, remained unaccomplished. It required time, and weather conditions were not entirely favorable. The usual "choppy" British Channel was quite rough apparently, for most of the soldiers were reported seasick. Clouds made flying and the bringing-in of reinforcements by air carriers difficult and consequently uncertain, while further disembarking and landing was hindered.

As these lines are being written, reports indicate that American, Canadian and British troops continue to pour into France and that those already on land continue

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to advance in certain sectors and to resist nazi counterattacks in others. The number of German prisoners taken by our troops clearly demonstrates that these are no longer the Germans of the early Blitzkrieg days of this war. It is reported that large numbers of them are youths seventeen and eighteen years of age, probably not well-trained, while others are men well beyond the normal soldier's age.

When we look forward to the development of a military operation which, like this one, started successfully, we have to think not only of its military significance but also of its psychological effects. In this war the Nazis have held under their rigid and brutal control most of the peoples of Western and Southern Europe. To these people our landing in France must have come with tremendous impact. They have suffered humiliation and privation, they have long awaited the arrival of the Allies who promised to liberate them. The news that our troops have landed will serve as a driving force, prompting these peoples to do their share in defeating their oppressors and in helping the armies of invasion.

Coordination of the Assault

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL said on the eve of the landing, "The final action is now focused on a single battle in which every Allied force will be represented." These words obviously were based on one of the maxims of Clausewitz, whose opinions on the Art and Science of War still are highly respected by most military men.

"Only great and general engagements produce great results," wrote this outstanding student of war. "The results will be the greatest when the engagements are united in one great battle."

With the landing accomplished and large forces disembarked and accumulated on French soil, under cover of the advanced contingents, the Western front is in being. The realization of the grand strategy agreed upon at the Teheran Conference by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin can henceforth unfold.

The accomplishment of this will take some time. A sufficient force of men and machines must be transported across the Channel—and the speed of this operation for either sea or air-borne troops depends on the weather. Moreover the initial landing between Cherbourg and Le Havre will doubtless be followed by other landings in France or elsewhere.

The warning given by the Supreme Command to the fishermen of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France, was not aimed merely at confusing the Germans. Doubtless it was dictated by forthcoming operations. Of course to keep the enemy guessing as to the real intentions of the invading armies is the way to delay his concentration of forces for a counterattack on the landing. So long as the German High Command is uncertain exactly where to expect the Allies' main blow, it does not dare to move the major portion of its strategic reserves. Thus our landing forces have the advantage of having to deal only with the local coastal defenses and local tactical reserves. While our landing forces are still limited and before they have accumulated maximum strength, it is of great importance to use every means of keeping the enemy forces facing us at the lowest point.

Until we have one good harbor where we can disembark sea-borne troops and equipment, and especially heavy guns and tanks, the invasion of Fortress Europe is handicapped. For this reason it was natural that our first objective should be to get possession of Cherbourg or Le Havre or other ports on the French coast or elsewhere. The more important harbors are undoubtedly well fortified, but the mere presence of strong fortifications around them should not be sufficient reason for delaying our advance inland. Such strong points can be by-passed, leaving only limited forces to besiege them. On the other hand, no resolute advance inland would be advisable without one such port to guarantee the uninterrupted flow of supplies for our ever-increasing numbers of men and machines in France.

Logistics, as we all have learned by now, is a mighty problem when enormous numbers of men must be fed and machines supplied. Never was it as formidable a problem as today. Mechanical equipment is so large and diversified, the expenditure of shells and other war materials so stupen-

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dous, that without a decent harbor and some mechanical facilities for unloading our operations could proceed neither smoothly nor swiftly. The armchair strategists must therefore practice patience. They must not expect immediate spectacular results even from an initially successful landing on a still limited coastline and with, so far, only one operational base.

But this initial success will certainly be developed. As soon as enough Anglo-American and possibly other United Nations forces are on the continent with ample arms and equipment, the moment will be ripe for the "real thing."

German forces are limited, while the Allies possess fresh troops a-plenty and a super-abundance of sinews of war far beyond anything the Germans can hope to match. Moreover, we have every reason to expect very effective collaboration from the peoples of Europe. Some of them obviously are supplied with arms, others use their ingenuity in harassing the Germans by every available means, even without many modern weapons.

The continued advance of our troops in Italy, which is likely to develop without much resistance from the foe, up to the valley of the River Po, or even as far up as the Alps, may well become the first of the three great assaults that will constitute the great final battle of Europe. The constant pressure on the Germans by the heroic Partisans of Marshal Tito in the Balkans can be properly considered a very important part of this Southern front of ours, that may soon be transformed into a link between the armies now active in Italy and the Red Army of Russia. It is quite conceivable that this front soon may be expanded westward by new landings on the French Mediterranean coast from the islands of Sardinia and Corsica and from the Northern shore of Africa.

The Russians are on the march again. Their successes in Finland are just a beginning. Other Red armies undoubtedly are concentrated in large force on the entire Eastern front and are busy with final preparations for the renewed action. Berlin is their goal, as the official army organ *Red Star* has declared.

It is useless to conjecture on what sector of the enormous Russian front the main attack will be launched. There are a number of possibilities. It might be quite tempting to advance in the Northern section of the front, to cut off the Baltic Republics and proceed thence to Berlin.

It might be profitable at this time to strike in the Center, for by now the Pripet Marshes should be dry enough to allow large-scale operations. A drive in the direction of Tarnopol-Lwow might also be very good. It would bring the attacking troops to Warsaw, thence to Berlin, or up to the Carpathians and into Czechoslovakia.

In the South there are equally attractive goals: the Ploesti oil-fields, and beyond them Bulgaria, whose people would undoubtedly greet the Russian brothers with open arms, whatever their government may think. Still further Yugoslavia, whose sons have held out against the common enemy for three years and are now impatiently awaiting the arrival of the Red Army.

Soon there will be the possibility of a renewed action at the Far Northern end of the Finnish front, especially if the Allies should be planning to land in Norway. The recently concluded Soviet-Norwegian understanding may be a "straw in the wind."

However many possibilities there are on the Eastern front, one thing is certain: at the proper moment, the Russians will again strike. The Eastern side of the triangular front that is now forming to encircle the Germans will play a very important role in that "general engagement" that is sure to "produce great results." Its outcome must be the surrender of the Nazi war machine.

As the battle unfolds from the East, South and West, the war in Europe may well end this year. There is plenty of fighting ahead of us, there may be temporary setbacks, but the outcome is no longer in doubt. That Hitler will be defeated is today as certain as anything human can be. Afterward will come the time to settle accounts with the Japanese. This will be much easier once the European partner in the Axis is smashed. Japan will then be faced with such a gigantic concentration of naval, air and land forces that the "bullies" of the Orient will be obliged to retire and give the Japanese people the right of way to sue for peace.

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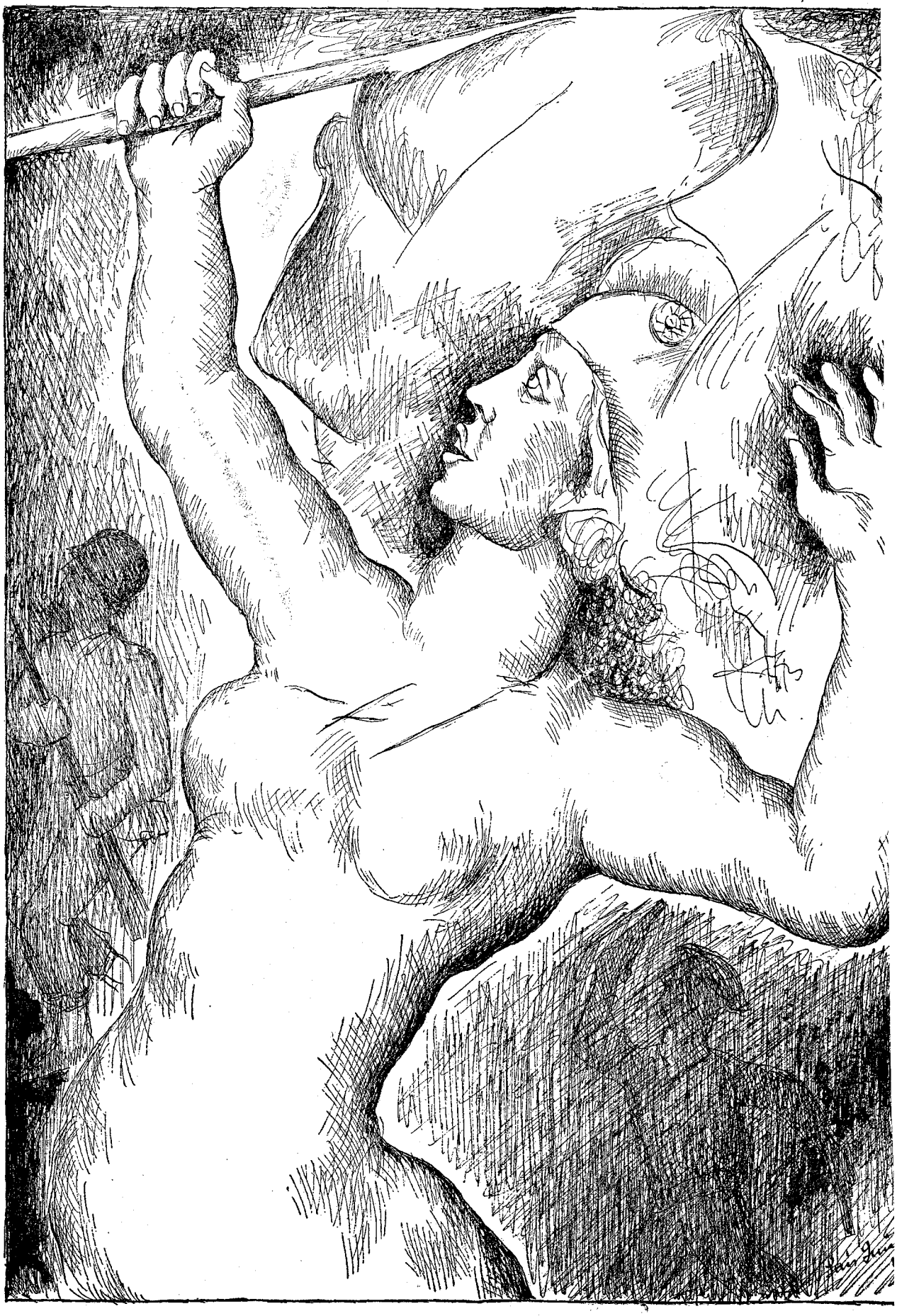

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FRANCE
Battles Beside Her Allies

By

GENERAL A. M. BROSSIN DE SAINT-DIDIER

Head of The French Military Mission in the United States

ENTERING the war at the side of England in September 1939 to honor her word, France literally constituted the advance guard of the democracies, in the gigantic struggle in which she engaged herself. Relying on their will to peace, the peoples of America, England and France, had in effect refused to consider the possibility of an aggression twenty years after the end of the great hecatomb of 1914-1918.

France herself, placing her hope in international security in the League of Nations, had temporarily forgotten the permanent menace which hung over her Rhine frontier. In the shelter of a Maginot line considered impenetrable, military service of one year for all youths had seemed sufficient. The financial crises had also created a tendency to neglect the renewal of war materiel.

It was only with the advent of Hitler that the danger became evident, at first debatable, but forcing attention from year to year with the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, the assassination of Schuschnigg, the Anschluss and the Sudeten affair.

By the time eyes were opened to the peril, the delay had occurred. The German war machine had been in motion for several years at the moment when France, with an economic potential half the size of Germany's, began to think about her defense. The eight months of respite Germany left her between September 1939 and May 1940 could only accentuate the delay.

We do not need to have recourse to strategic considerations to explain the defeat of France in 1940; a comparison of the forces each nation was able to put into the war is sufficient.

To the 125 German divisions toughened by the campaign of Poland, the French and British opposed 100 divisions, of which 10 were English.

Of the 90 French divisions, 13 were fortification units without means of transport, and 16 were made up of reserves of older men.

The 10 German armored divisions and the German tank battalions representing a total of 7,500 tanks, had to face only the 2,000 French tanks of the three light-armored divisions, the three heavy-armored divisions and of scattered battalions.

In the air there was no less of a disparity; 420 French fighter planes against 1,500 German; 250 French bombers against 3,500 German.

Such were the odds when the battle started in 1940. In spite of its inferiority, the French Army struggled with a courage which, very often, at Dunkerque, for example, was the admiration of foreign observers. In forty-five days of combat in Holland, in Belgium and during the campaign in France, our armies lost 140,000 killed and four times as many wounded. Of these the proportion of officers of all ranks had been unequaled even in the First World War.

The figure of 1,500,000 prisoners captured by the Germans would have been considerably less if it had not been for the

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Frenchmen taken after the armistice and in their barracks. In this unequal struggle, the losses inflicted on the enemy by the French were very great. Without doubt we will know them in detail later on, but even now it is permissible to say that French aviation, which numbered on the tenth of May 1940 less than 500 fighter planes, counted 980 victories over German aviation between May 10th and June 10th with a loss of 30 per cent of its fighting force.

To the heavy price paid by the French Army in 1940 we must add the death of 80,000 civilians machine-gunned on the roads.

De Gaulle Calls Frenchmen

As soon as the battle of France appeared to be irrevocably lost, General de Gaulle, in his appeal of the eighteenth of June urged Frenchmen to gather around him to continue the struggle against the invader. Most Frenchmen abroad supported him; many joined him in London. The first nucleus of what became the Free French Forces, later the Fighting French Forces, was made up of officers and soldiers returning from Norway or Flanders and of volunteers from foreign countries or from France. Several warships and merchant ships of that French fleet which had just covered itself with glory at Dunkerque formed the first Free French Naval Force. And French aviators served with the R.A.F. before they were able to organize their own autonomous escadrilles.

This handful of brave men were able to hold the flag of France high and firm over the battlefields of Ethiopia, of Lybia, of Tripolitania, of the Fezzan and Tunisia. The heroic defense of Bir-Hakim which assured the safety of movements of the British Army, the amazing accomplishment of the Leclerc Column in crossing the Sahara, are still vivid in everyone's mind. So also are the exploits of the Normandie escadrille—the squadron of a hundred victories—and the long and hard patrols of submarines and corvettes wearing the Cross of Lorraine on their flag.

The glory of such combats as those of Bir-Hakim, El-Alamein and Fezzan, and the 217 Free French airforce victories, were paid for dearly in dead and wounded. Thus 50 per cent of all Free French fighters have been wounded several times. Many French possessions have assisted this military effort with contributions in men and in economic resources. Cameroun, Tchad, French Equatorial Africa, New Caledonia, and the French Indies have each rallied to General de Gaulle and aided him with all their means.

At the same time that in London General de Gaulle gathered about him Frenchmen who had remained free, in France and in North Africa officers whom the defeat had not crushed went to work, in spite of the controls and investigations of the Germans, to forge an instrument which some day would permit them to take their place again in the struggle on the side of the Allies.

It was to these persistent patriots that the African Army owed its ability to participate brilliantly in the Tunisian Campaign. As soon as the Allies had set foot on North Africa the mission of covering their landings and their concentrations fell to this African Army whose strength the Axis Powers, under the terms of the armistice, had set at 30,000 men without armored equipment and without heavy artillery. Thanks to the continued and skillful action of the French Delegation to the Armistice Commission, thanks to the patriotic complicity of civil servants and to the magnificent sense of responsibility of a large num-

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ber of courageous Frenchmen, the original 30,000 men became 120,000.

Hidden Stores of Arms

SECRET stores existed where weapons were hidden individually or collectively in large quantities: a few anti-tank batteries, considerable munition, radio transmitters. Even so the African Army had very insufficient materiel when it received the important assignment of holding the immense front from Tunis to the great oases of the Sahara.

Inferior in men and materiel, the French divisions were incessantly on the move and had to make the best use they could of the terrain, with the means at their disposal. In the course of the months of January and February 1943, they were obliged to face violent German attacks and to defend the ridge of Ousseltia, the Pichon gap, and the Fondouk, Faid and Essatour passes or the heights of Medjez-El-Bab.

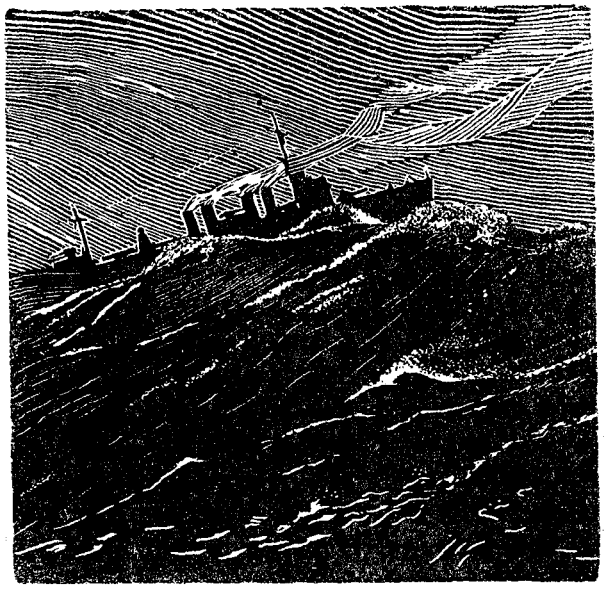
When with the arrival of the Eighth Army the final phase of the campaign began, the French troops, exhausted, were to have been sent to the rear to be reorganized. In fact, however, and by necessity, they were retained in the line and had the well-merited joy of participating in the operations which led to the surrender of the Germans and Italians.

On the other hand, the Fighting French Forces which were incorporated in the Eighth Army took a very active part in the Southern Tunisian battles, and especially in the break-through of the Mareth Line.

A total of more than 80,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the French during this first campaign for the liberation of a French territory.

French losses were heavy. The African Army lost about 13,000 men, or a sixth of its fighting men. The sacrifice was great but it gave proof that the French soldier had lost nothing of his ability. Equipped with modern weapons he would again, as always, be one of the best fighting men in the world.

The campaign in Tunisia barely over, the French Divisions returned to their garrisons and commenced reorganization preparatory to receiving American materiel. This long period, too long in the eyes of all, was one of necessary but obscure labor. It weighed heavily on the troops who were impatient to engage in the struggle for liberation. Nevertheless each one brought to his training not only conscientiousness but a burning will to prepare himself perfectly to make the best possible use of the war machine entrusted to him.



Drawing by Commander Jack Bowling

Our splendid naval crews were able with American help to take over French ships that had been reconditioned, modernized or improved, representing a total of 300,000 tons, or half our pre-war fleet. Moreover, our shipyards of North Africa and French West Africa performed a task which in the light of their means appears gigantic. They not only repaired our ships but also a large number of allied vessels operating on the African coasts.

Lifeline to Italy

OUR air squadrons reorganized with American equipment promptly took part in the coast patrols and in the protection of convoys which were the lifeline of the troops in Italy. From England they bombarded German installations, while the Normandie Escadrille continued to cover itself with glory in the skies of Russia.

While our armed forces were thus reborn, the Corsican patriots, together with a handful of French soldiers, liberated the first

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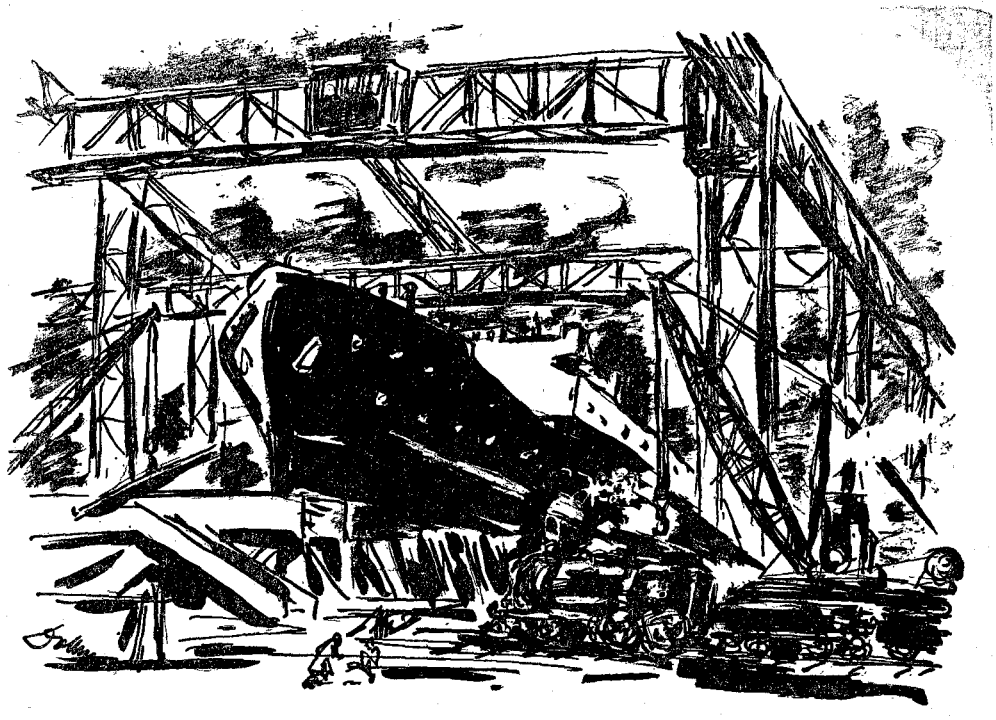

French *département* snatched from the invader.

The capitulation of Italy had aroused wild enthusiasm in Corsica. On the ninth and tenth of September 1943 events moved swiftly to a head with the occupation of Bastia and Ajaccio by the patriots. The French Command decided immediately to support them. On the eleventh and the thirteenth of September a shock battalion left for Ajaccio on board a submarine and two destroyers. It was quickly followed by much more important units. The Allies, busy on the Italian front, were unable to furnish any naval or air support. The expedition remained strictly French.

On the fourth of October, after three weeks of the campaign, our troops occupied Bastia, the last port remaining in the hands of the Germans; Corsica was free.

Two months later, the first of the great French units, reformed and reequipped with magnificent American war materiel, made their appearance in the Italian theater of operations. The Supreme Allied Command had esteemed it necessary, at the moment when the American and British troops met in the Italian theater, a particularly mountainous terrain, to call upon the French troops, since these had many times proved their qualities of aggression and their surprising resistance to the exhausting fatigues of war in the mountains.

From the beginning of active operations in December 1943-January 1944, the French Expeditionary Corps received a particularly heavy offensive assignment. The combat sector which fell to them was a tough one; the extreme difficulty of the terrain precluded the use of mechanized equipment characteristic of modern warfare. It made necessary the provisioning of the troops by slow and interminable mule train. Nevertheless, it was an essential sector since the advance of the French troops across the mountains made possible the advance of the allied forces in the direction of Cassino.

On the seventeenth of December the French units took Pantano while the slopes of the Mainarde range became the scene of fierce combats and changed hands several times. On the twelfth and thirteenth of January, after a deadly struggle, the French Expeditionary Corps captured Mount Passero and Mount Acquafondata, disrupting the disposition of the German defense system and making possible the crossing of the Rapido River.

The days which followed were characterized by a succession of violent attacks,

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notably on Mount San Croce and Mount Cifalco; on the twenty-fifth of January, one of our divisions succeeded for the first time in piercing the Gustav Line and, bounding forward irresistibly, took Belvedere, the name of which has already become famous.

This first phase of the Italian Campaign was particularly brilliant. In the course of these two months, the French Expeditionary Force, at the price of heavy and painful losses that amounted to 12,000 men, accomplished an extremely important advance and captured a large number of prisoners in spite of the ferocious resistance of a toughened enemy, well trained for mountain fighting and able to use the terrain to the best advantage.

Eisenhower Praises French

AFTER a period of relative calm, the Allies launched a very violent offensive on the eleventh of May. This time again, it was in a mountainous and particularly difficult terrain that the French divisions had to fight. They did so with a zeal and ardor which aroused the enthusiasm of the Allies. The allied chiefs, General Eisenhower and General Clark, addressed messages of congratulation to General de Gaulle and to General Juin for the magnificent conduct of the French troops. From the very first day, these troops had been the spearhead. Mount Faito, Mount Majo, Monte d'Oro, Esperia, San Oliva, Pico, Lenola, Vallecorsa fell to their hands. In the course of a lightning advance that the desperate efforts of the enemy could not stop, the French Expeditionary Force had pierced both the Gustav Line and the Hitler Line, permitting the allied advance which ended in the capture of Rome. On the 1st of June, our troops had advanced more than 70 kilometers, and their prisoners numbered more than 4,000.

While the French division took part in the victorious Italian campaign, those who remained available awaited with impatience the moment when they could disembark upon the soil of the fatherland to fight the Germans there. Already our fliers are operating in the skies of France, our sailors of the "Montcalm" and the "Georges Leygues" are taking part in disembarkation operations beyond the coast of Normandy.

The land army awaits the hour when it will be able to join hands with the admirable army of Resistance—the army of soldiers without uniform whose coordinated and carefully planned action brings the Allies an invaluable assistance which will win the world's homage when the extent of it is known. Today we need only remember that the information supplied by observers on the ground is more accurate than that supplied by aerial photography, that bridges and factories are blown up more conveniently and more surely when the fuse is lit by a partisan than by aerial bombardment, that in the last analysis the patriots represent a constant and disturbing menace to the German Command which deprives them of a large part of their liberty of action.

To arrive at such results, men have struggled, suffered and all too often died during months and years in which they have had not a day of rest. Those who come to London or to Algiers to receive instructions, hurry back to France. Thus Mederic, named member of the Consultative Assembly, came to Algiers, returned to his resistance movement in France and died heroically rather than be taken alive by the Gestapo. The Army of Resistance, anonymous and obscure, serves France even as the French Army serves it in broad daylight. Both will have earned their country's gratitude.

This, up to the present time, is the brief summary of French military action since the start of hostilities; our Army, so grievously tried in the flesh and in its pride, has never ceased the struggle. Today, modernized, animated with the spirit of the victories it has won, it is letting the enemy feel again the ever-intelligent audacity of its command and the weight of its arms. In leadership and in courage, it will give indispensable support to the crusade of the Allies to liberate an enslaved Europe and to deliver the Far East.

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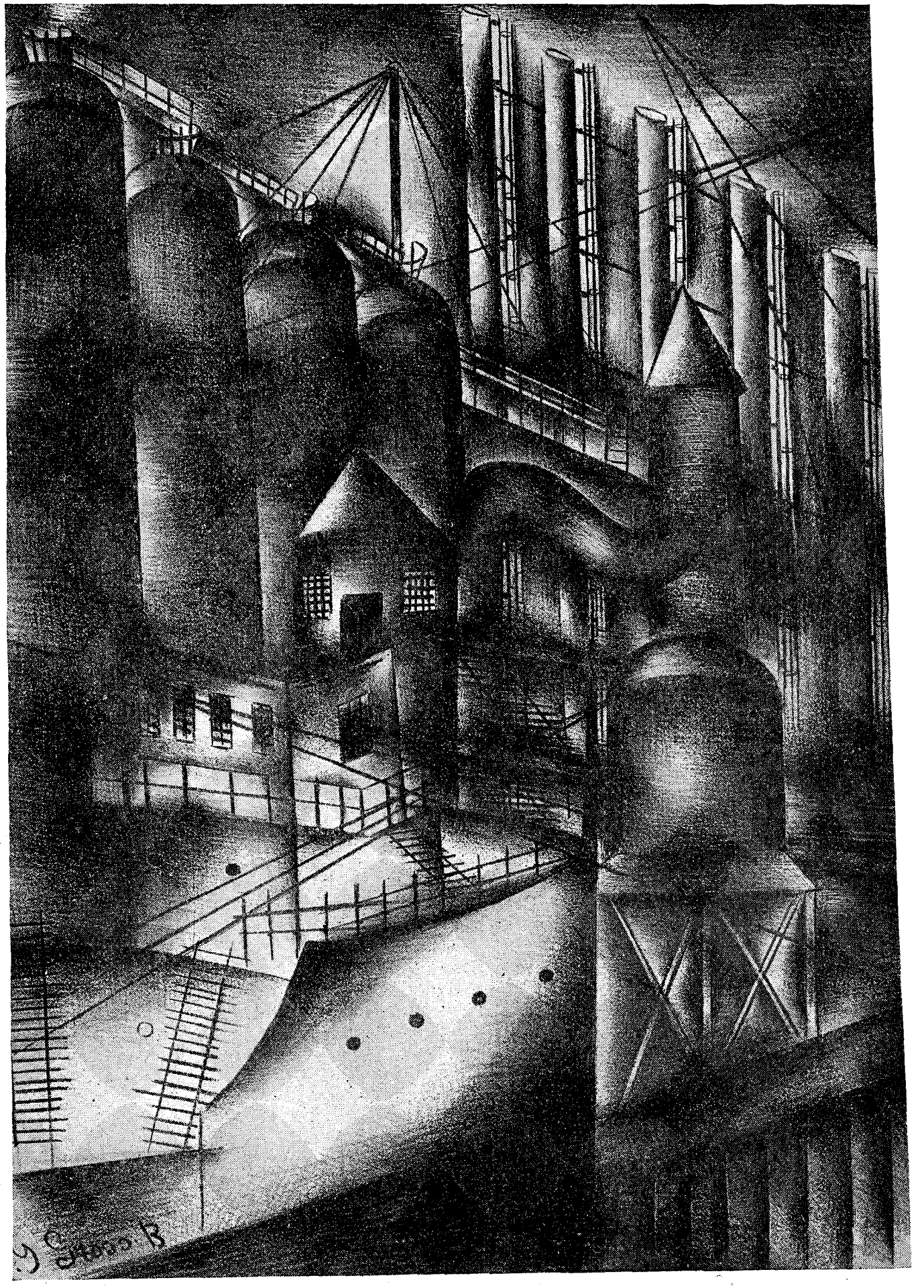

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WORKERS *back* INVASION

by

WILLIAM GREEN

President of the American Federation of Labor

TODAY, more than 1,500,000 members of the American Federation of Labor are fighting in uniform for their country.

Today, almost seven million members of the American Federation of Labor are serving in the great army of production whose amazing achievements have made the present invasion of occupied France possible.

Today, out of the vast flow of planes, ships, tanks, guns and ammunition which is pouring in record quantities from our industrial facilities, more than 85 percent is made by union labor.

And tomorrow—the post-war tomorrow—organized labor will still be on the job striving for greater security for the world, working to banish the fear of poverty and economic oppression from the hearts of men, women and children throughout the world.

But before that day comes, victory must come. And before we can win victory we must fight and work with all our hearts and all our strength to earn it.

This is a crucial moment in the world's history. Our present security and all that we hope for from the future depend to a large degree on the outcome of the great military drive now pushing forward from the beachheads of Normandy. The lives of our sons and brothers and loved ones, serving in the armed forces, are at stake. Our freedoms, our liberties and our precious democratic rights, as American citizens and as free trade unionists, hang in the balance.

This crisis presents a clear challenge to every American worker—a challenge to work and serve with the same unconquerable spirit and the same devotion to duty which our troops are manifesting under enemy fire.

Knowing the hearts and minds of the workers of our country, I am certain this challenge will be met. I know that they will rise to new heights and give their sweat, their skill and their genius unhesitatingly to the success of the great cause.

In a broad sense the invasion of Nazi-occupied Europe began more than two years ago right here in America. It was launched in the first instance from the mills and factories and shipyards of America where the deadly weapons of warfare now being used against the enemy were produced in such unprecedented quantities.

The workers of America have the right to consider themselves part of the invasion forces of the United Nations because they made the invasion possible through their production achievements.

But we dare not sit back with satisfaction now and consider our work done. Far from it! There is a long and hard road still ahead of us before Berlin and Tokyo fall. The invasion armies must be constantly re-armed and supplied and replenished. It is our job—the job of the soldiers of production—to see that they get all they need and more than they need.

By providing our own troops and the troops of our Allies with overwhelming superiority in the weapons of war we can make the ultimate victory certain. By stepping up the pace of our work at our daily

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tasks, we can hasten the day of victory. By our own voluntary efforts, we can shorten the war and save countless lives.

From now on that will be the supreme objective of all American workers—an objective that must outweigh all other considerations. All our hopes and prayers and desires for the safety of our loved ones abroad and for victory in 1944 must be translated into calm, steady, unremitting hard work.

Already the electrifying news of invasion has served as a spark of inspiration for the members of the American Federation of Labor. As soon as the coming of D-Day was announced over the radio and the newspapers, I got in touch with the National War Labor Board and inquired what strikes involving American Federation of Labor unions were still in progress. I was informed that there were only two in the entire nation, involving only a handful of men not directly engaged in war production.

I got busy on these two stoppages at once and succeeded in prevailing upon these men to go back to work within twenty-four hours. As a result, the docket of the War Labor Board on June 9th showed not a single strike by any American Federation of Labor union and I was able to send the following cablegram to General Eisenhower, in command of the Allied invasion forces:

"National War Labor Board informs me that its docket shows not a single strike in nation involving American Federation of Labor unions as of this day. Our seven million members are on the job supporting you to the limit. We hope this information will encourage you and your brave men in the grave tasks ahead."

Perhaps it may be too much to expect of human beings to maintain such a perfect record indefinitely. But I urge every American worker to do his part to keep it perfect. *This is no time to strike!*

Trying days lie ahead for all of us. Confident as we are of ultimate victory, the battle at times may swing temporarily against our side. Personal tragedy will visit many American homes. Our patience, our courage and our stamina to keep working and keep fighting under adverse conditions will be tested in the crucible of harsh experience.

Labor must resolve to meet whatever comes with high hearts, with faith that our cause is God's cause, and with the resolute and unshakable determination to do everything in our power to win this war and to win the ensuing peace.

Free World for Uruguay

URUGUAY now has its own edition of Free World—Mundo Libre. The first edition has just been published in Montevideo, under the auspices of Uruguay's Vice President Alberto Guani. The editor is Hugo Fernandez Artucio, director of the Latin-American section of the Free World Association.

Mundo Libre begins its life with a circulation of 50,000 readers, and will be distributed throughout Argentina, Brazil, Chili, Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay. Significant material on international affairs, on the prosecution of the war and on the organization of the peace is to be broadcast from the pages of the magazine to South American listeners through the CBS affiliate.

Many American and European statesmen and writers were among the initial contributors to the magazine. So also were leaders of democratic thought in Argentina, who, unable to write freely in their own country, are finding here an outlet through which to express their views.

With the appearance of Mundo Libre in Montevideo, Free World has now eight editions that reach people all over the world.

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Inside Fortress Europe

The Allies' "Secret Weapon"

FROM Norway's extreme north to the Spanish coast D-Day sounded the alert for the underground armies of fortress Europe, even as it increased the fury of nazi terrorism in occupied lands.

In France, the underground hindered the Nazis as they rushed toward the Allied beachheads. Sabotage of communication lines at the rear is helping the Allied air forces. The power and vitality of the Allied "secret weapon" is standing up to the test.

FREE WORLD magazine has always predicted the important part that Europe's underground movements would play in the liberation of the Continent. Today that prediction is coming true. Behind fortress Europe's battered wall thousands of men and women take their lives in their hands daily to play their part in this war. No one can say where the Allies will strike next at the Fortress' rim. Wherever it may be they will find comrades of the underground standing on watch, awaiting their signal, invisible reinforcements of the armies of liberation.

NORWAY

SABOTAGE activities of Norwegian Patriots are directed by a secret military organization. Training of saboteurs has been carefully supervised, and the Germans have discovered that they are equipped with modern weapons and war materials which they know how to use according to well-established plans.

Hundreds of executions by firing squads, thousands of sentences to concentration camps, tens of thousands of deportations to the north of the country, all have failed to rid the Germans of their hidden foes. In one year 30,635 were sentenced for offenses that ranged all the way from the blowing up of the Norsko Hydro, the largest chemical center in Norway, to a dynamite attack on the Vaernes airport.

More than three hundred underground newspapers keep Norwegians informed of the progress of invasion. Local units of this propaganda front are so organized that exposure of one unit does not involve the rest of the organization. The central office, which like an underground press association distributes news to all the units and smuggles out information to those interested abroad, operates with greatest secrecy. The German-controlled press in Norway tacitly admits the efficiency of this free press whose influence over the population it seeks to combat with polemics.

If the underground press is highly centralized and coordinated, it is likewise highly diversified. Teachers, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, workers and business men provide it with specialized information in their fields and head the special underground committees. Some of these groups publish their own newspapers. One of the most influential in Norway is the *Fri Fagbevegelse* (Free Trade Union), the organ of the Norwegian trade unions.

There is complete agreement between the

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home front and the government-in-exile. A "Magna Charta" outlines the aims of free Norway. It calls for the reestablishment of Norwegian democracy, punishment after trial of the collaborationists, jobs for all and solidarity among all classes of the population. It proclaims the will of Norway to participate actively in efforts to build an international order based on law, to promote international exchange of goods and to create the basis for a lasting and just peace.

DENMARK

A DANISH Patriot recently called the underground movement there the "submerged part on an iceberg," of which only the lesser portion shows above the surface. It goes deep. The Resistance movement embraces the whole people.

At the first news of the Allied landings in France, Danish Minister Henrik Kauffmann at Washington said, "The day of liberation has dawned. The Danes have for years been preparing for it. The Allied armies have arrived to free the enslaved peoples of Europe from North Cape to Crete. They will be greeted as liberators by a united Danish people." And in London, John Christmas Moeller, chairman of the Danish Council said, "The great day has arrived. We have all heard the orders from General Eisenhower."

The Danes have been fighting for a long time. As far back as March 1943 they held a general election under the very eyes of the Nazis to vote down Nazism and to approve democracy, unanimously.

Last summer they put teeth in the revolt by calling a general strike on August 29, while the men of the Danish Navy scuttled the forty-five ships of the fleet, fighting until they had no more ammunition. Some fifteen to sixteen thousand Danes have slipped across the borders into Sweden, hunted as they fled by the Nazis, but sheltered by every Danish family along their route.

Danish men and women have committed no less than three thousand acts of sabotage in the past year. Of these at least seven hundred involve major destruction carried out in thoroughly organized fashion. Precision bombing has destroyed the greater part of German war industry in Denmark. Lately there have been concentrated attacks on the German military and on communications.

Some thirty "submerged" newspapers in Denmark have a monthly circulation of over a million.

The resistance of Danes is a spiritual mobilization. In the fall of 1943 during the dark days of the battle of Britain, three-quarters of a million people came out to sing in the huge "allsing" gatherings throughout Denmark. Their purpose was not to drive the Nazis out with song but to weld the nation into unity against the invaders.

During their four years under the nazi heel the Danes have used this spiritual weapon to break down German morale. And they have had another weapon that has hit hard at German occupation forces: humor—a devastating form of humor, hard for Germans to understand, or bear. When machine guns and tanks were used to terrorize the populace, little groups of family folk tapped on the windows of the tanks and inquired politely, "Do you sell war stamps here?"

THE NETHERLANDS

ARMED sections of the Dutch Underground are fully mobilized to reinforce the invasion troops. They will concentrate on sniping activities behind the enemy's lines, on the holding or destruction of roads, bridges and other strategic objects and on hampering German movements, obstructing the nazi advance or retreat.

Underground workers recruited from every class are ready to supply information on German movements, on the numerical strength of the enemy, on the many measures the Nazis have taken with frantic haste to frustrate an expected Allied invasion of the Lowlands. These trained men are prepared to guide the invasion forces and to give them detailed information on local conditions.

As soon as the Netherland military authority, following in the path of the invasion armies, is ready to take over the government, the Underground will cooperate with it. Because it has the confidence

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of the people it will be able to rally them easily around the new authority.

Many of the secret armies of the Underground will be Holland's public leaders after the liberation. They are men and women who have risked their lives to keep the flame of Truth burning through all the destructive storms of nazi tyranny. They spoke *to* the people in the days of greatest stress; they will speak *for* the people in the hard days of rehabilitation. Last summer the Netherland's Underground sent Dr. Jacob A. W. Burger out of the country to serve with the government-in-exile. Slipping away under the very nose of the Gestapo, Dr. Burger has been able to help the government prepare plans for cooperation with the liberators.

BELGIUM

THE Belgian Underground is well organized. Without revealing any military secrets it can be said that its leaders have been in almost daily contact with the Belgian Government and Belgian military authorities in London. Small arms have been sent into the country and the "secret army" has precise instructions what to do when the Allied armies land.

Invasion orders to the populace have been broadcast widely in the Belgian underground press. One paper *Le Sanglier Ardennais* says: "You will do all in your power to put out of action the means of transport employed by the enemy. You will carry on the fight ferociously." Another paper, *Le Partisan,* says: "Let us intensify our guerrilla warfare. Attack the enemy's detachments and annihilate his outposts. Destroy his supply bases, paralyze his transport, derail troop trains, destroy his war material."

The Belgian Underground is an organization that unites all Belgians of whatever political opinion or creed. It counts within its ranks the members of seventeen patriotic underground groups. In a manifesto recently it declared:

> "The time has come to make known to the world that in spite of the dreadful ordeals which face them, the Belgians are more determined than ever to crush Hitlerism, to support Allied strategy, to free Belgium, and to win back her complete independence."

FRANCE

LONG before the landing of Allied troops Resistance movement in France prepared detailed plans of action for D-Day. Since May 1943 a National Council of Resistance has coordinated underground activities. All the groups formed on French territory since the occupation—Liberation, Combat, Franc-Tireur, Organization Civile et Militaire, Franc-Tireurs et Partisans, Confederation Generale du Travail and Confederation des Travailleurs Chretiens—are represented in the Council. So also are various political groups: communists, socialists, radical-socialists, popular democrats, Democratic Alliance and Republican Federation. Thus the Council of Resistance speaks for the whole of France and is in constant contact with General de Gaulle.

Military organization of the French Underground is complete and makes it a powerful invasion weapon. Its fighting forces include trained troops of the Liberation. Combat and Franc-Tireur movements, organized by members of the regular French army staff, as well as the fighters of the National Front. Today all these fighting groups are leaders and take orders from the French Army's General Staff. The army keeps in touch with the French Provisional Government through channels that cannot be revealed.

Behind these armed groups stands the population of France, determined to rid itself of the nazi occupation. To the French people the combined underground press recently launched an appeal. Here it is, quoted from *Combat*:

> The hour of total Resistance has come. By every means, wherever you are, you must fight with us. Any act against the oppressor speeds victory.
>
> Every delay brought to the enemy communication lines helps add to the paralysis which will eventually cripple the Octopus.
>
> Every time an enemy vehicle is destroyed or damaged it means one more step in escape from the Boche and his tortures.
>
> Any disruption of German military undertakings is a gain for the Allies.
>
> Yes, the time for total Resistance is now.

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America's Role in a

AS the forces of the United Nations sweep on toward victory, can the people on the home fronts make plans for a World Organization that will be a sure guarantee that no such war can happen again? This question is uppermost in the minds of fighting men of many nations, who are doing their part now, but who expect a better and safer world for their sons. The experience between two wars makes it evident that America's participation is essential to permanent peace. But the form that World Organization may take has yet to be determined. Some think that elaborate blueprints for international collaboration must be drawn in advance and in great detail. Others maintain that such peacetime collaboration is a matter of normal growth from beginnings that already have been made, as for instance UNRRA, to face the problems of world-wide relief and rehabilitation. Many are concerned that the people of the United States shall actively share in the planning, through their representatives in Congress. In Washington recently a panel of men who speak with authority in this field was invited by FREE WORLD to meet and discuss America's role in a World Organization and the obstacles that lie in its path. The Round Table was held under the chairmanship of Burnet Hershey, foreign correspondent. The participants were: Stephen Bonsal, who assisted at the Versailles Peace Conference, author of the book, Unfinished Business; ***Marquis W. Childs, columnist and author; Ernesto Galarza, labor director of the Pan-American Union; Chet Holifield, Representative from California; Ernest K. Lindley, chief of the Washington Bureau of*** Newsweek, ***news analyst and radio commentator; and John M. Vorys, Representative from Ohio.***

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1 The people of the United States want to have a part in the planning for World Organization, through their representatives in Congress.

2 To succeed, such an organization can be neither a new form of "power politics" nor a vague scheme without basis in existing mechanisms for international collaboration.

3 Organizational attempts, aimed at solving the problems that face all nations are already under way.

4 World Organization involves some sacrifice of national sovereignty. This fact concerns the average man less than does the imperative need for external and internal security.

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World Organization

ROUND TABLE No. 25

BURNET HERSHEY—This is the twenty-fifth Round Table conducted by FREE WORLD. The proceedings have found their way into eight editions of the magazine. The present Round Table meets to discuss, within the limitations of the time at our disposal, the subject of "America's Role in a World Organization."

I think we will all agree that the subject is well timed, and even appropriately located, just a stone's throw from that old building the State Department where the first draft of such a postwar organization was framed and proclaimed a few days ago. I know you all agree that there is no more important purpose than has been put before the American people, who have been asked to volunteer to help win the peace—"Join the Peace or Secede from It," as someone has said very aptly.

But what kind of an organization will it be? How far are we Americans willing to go? Can we have a world organization without some surrender of sovereignty? Is it going to be possible to divorce the question from American partisan politics? What about an international police force? Perhaps we can start off by just throwing the ball to Mr. Lindley.

Ernest K. Lindley—I think there is no doubt that overwhelmingly the American people want to see the peace preserved after this war is won. They don't want to have to go through this experience again.

There is a great deal of disagreement and of crystallized opinion how best to achieve the desired result. Judging from the reaction one gets from members of Congress, the Senate, and newspaper editorials, I am inclined to say that any type of world organization that involved the surrender of sovereignty, or appeared to involve it, would have great difficulty in obtaining the acceptance of the American people at this juncture and probably for some time to come.

Going back over the experience of the first world war it seems to me the League covenant presented a tremendous psychological hurdle. It involved the positive step of joining something which was sketched out there on paper, but which nobody could completely visualize in operation.

I think that psychological pitfall can be avoided this time, by building on the mechanisms which already exist for meeting and solving international problems, or which are being established during this war.

It is much easier to continue the operation of something that seems to have been thoroughly successful than it is to draft something new and complete that may raise many theoretical questions in the minds of the American people and, certainly, in the minds of members of Congress. I think nothing in the way of a full-blown blueprint for the organization of the peace is likely to have easy sledding.

Hershey—Perhaps at this point we should hear from the parliamentary side of the House. Congressman Vorys might throw some light on the congressional trends toward world organization. We know there have been various resolutions passed or recommended to commit the country to support of some plan for safeguarding the peace. Will the State Department "draft," in any way, integrate the various congressional resolutions? Will they try to reconcile any of them?

John M. Vorys—I have not seen the State Department draft. Of course, I am familiar with the points mentioned in the press: World Council of the major nations, a gen-

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eral body to serve as world assembly of nations, court of international justice, etc. But all this is mere newspaper speculation regarding what the State Department proposes. There is no doubt that America's role in a World Organization is going to be extremely important. It will be one of leadership—if we want it; in fact, we can hardly avoid taking leadership in either organization or disorganization.

America's role in such an organization is not going to be dictated by the Executive, or slipped over by the Executive, on the people or on the Congress. That has been made clear by history. That is what I fear is being attempted.

The people's representatives in the House took the lead a year ago in a situation where, because of domestic politics and the prima donna complex affecting so many of our statesmen both on Capitol Hill, and at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, nobody would agree with what anyone else said on America's role in world organization.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee, recognizing the perilous state into which we were drifting, met in closed sessions and evolved a fifty-one word statement on American participation, which we called the Fulbright resolution. That was a non-partisan—a bi-partisan action.

The resolution was introduced by one of the most junior members on the committee. His version was reworded in the Committee. It was finally passed unanimously by the Committee and overwhelmingly by the House. It was a concurrent resolution which, ordinarily, would require action by the Senate as well.

The Senate has never yet acted on it. Instead, they passed the Connolly Resolution, which is a Senate Resolution only.

It has become perfectly apparent to this country, to the Congress and to all the world that the Executive this time is not going to be able to announce to the United States or to the world what America's role should be. It has been made perfectly clear by solemn, official action of the House and of the Senate that the people's representatives, if consulted, are willing to go forward in determining our postwar role.

The House, since the Fulbright resolution, has taken the lead and put through the organization for UNRRA, the first international postwar organization to be formed. It is a most significant one, not only because of its great importance in itself as a relief measure, but because of the precedent it established. The Senate followed suit.

The House extended Lend-lease for another year into what we all hope may be a partially postwar period, with, however, a reservation that any postwar commitments should be submitted to the Congress in the constitutional way.

In spite of all those formal actions, Mr. Hull's proposals have not yet been submitted to the House or to any committee of it; therefore, when you ask me what I think or what his proposals are, I cannot comment very intelligently on proposals I have never seen and I cannot comment very intelligently on what some newspaperman understands them to be.

Hershey—Mr. Childs, as a newspaperman have you a commentary on the Congressman's plea for greater complicity on the part of the House in these affairs?

Marquis Childs—I am inclined to agree

John M. Vorys

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with the general point he makes. I must say that I think President Roosevelt honestly believes it is important in this period to keep the whole thing out of partisan politics. He said in regard to the first draft that it had to be done with the help of the Committee of the Senate, so that thorough consideration and work could be put on the first draft before it was put in front of the public or even in front of the rest of Congress.

It seems to me there is one great danger. Placing Mr. Churchill's speech alongside certain things President Roosevelt has said, it begins to look to many people as if we were headed for the old game of power politics. I don't think the American people want any naively presented plan for an impossibly perfect peace. On the other hand I don't think they will go for anything that looks like power politics. I think they have to have an idealistic drive behind a practical peace. I think it has to have that appearance and it has to have something of that in it actually. The danger is that the President honestly believes he is keeping the peace out of partisan politics by working with a bi-partisan committee of the Senate; but that it may drift into a kind of party politics through people like Senator Wheeler, who would try to foment an atmosphere that gave the impression we were moving back to the old sort of thing. We must know more about the President's intentions, and not in generalized terms.

I think President Roosevelt, as Congressman Vorys said, should take more people into his confidence. It should not be on such a limited, narrow basis.

Vorys—May I interrupt there?

Childs—Please.

Vorys—It is not a matter of merely taking people into his confidence; it is a matter of operating under a Constitution. We have had repeated evidence, both after the last war, and during the past year, that the American people insist we must operate in the right way, and in no other. They do not intend to have vest-pocket, secret commitments made. The President has got to take us into his confidence. To put it the other way, we have got to take him into our confidence. We have shown we will do that.

Childs—You could have an honest difference of opinion of the plan, couldn't

Marquis Childs

you? The President could say: "This is not the time to do more than take step "A." I think he believes that is what he is doing, from what he said. This is the consultative stage on his first draft proposal of a world organization.

Lindley—May I interpose a thought? If I am not mistaken, what Mr. Hull is working on now is the implementation of point four in the Declaration of Moscow, which provides for the creation as soon as possible of a world organization based on disarming a world of peace-loving states. That is the point they are actually attempting themselves at the present time, is it not?

Childs—Yes.

Lindley—Whatever form the world organization may take, the central problem as alluded to by Mr. Churchill is to tie in this organization—on which each state sits with one representative, let us say, or one vote—with the necessity of four-power or three-power collaboration.

To me it seems self-evident that only great powers can wage great wars. There is no point in talking about a world organization unless you have firm military and political collaboration in preserving the peace among peoples who are able to wage great wars.

In some respects we may be getting ahead of ourselves here. The great powers have been discussing the terms of the German

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armistice, but we don't know what those are and we know only in a general way what the terms to be applied to Japan are.

We do have their solemn declarations that they are going to continue to collaborate in maintaining the peace. Secondary but not unimportant, though in itself it cannot preserve the peace, is the creation of this large organization into which will be brought the powers which are not essentially military and have not the means of becoming important military powers.

Chet Holifield—I should like to furnish a little controversy in regard to a point my friend, John Vorys, raised a minute ago.

He expressed a fear that the Executive might slip over some type of world organization on the people of the United States, including the Congress. I think his fear is quite unfounded, in view of the record so far in this war.

My memory does not go back further than World War I but I should say that this war, despite its global character and its complicated and intricate problems, has seen more public statements in regard to general policies from the leaders of the United Nations than any previous war brought forth.

I refer, of course, to general statements, such as the Atlantic Charter, and the Tripartite agreement at Moscow, Cairo, and so forth. These are all, to a certain extent, open moves, open policies, stated with the idea of having the people of the different nations understand them. The purpose was to lay out in advance the channels through which the waters of peace can flow.

Aside from mere public statements let us consider some of the actual organizational attempts that have been made, successfully and in most instances with the approval of Congress, to solve problems which now face all the Allied nations—problems which will go over into the postwar world.

I speak of the Conference of the United Nations on Food at Hot Springs which was called by the Executive. UNRRA, which Congressman Vorys mentioned, stemmed originally from the Executive, I believe, and was passed on by Congress.

Vorys—Would you mind an interruption?

Holifield—Not at all.

Vorys—Let me point out that UNRRA differs from some of the others, in that after a false start in an attempt to make it solely an Executive matter, the State Department conferred with and collaborated fully with the appropriate committees of the House and Senate during the formation stage. About a year ago the draft was changed and suggestions made from the Hill, with the result that when the agreement was submitted for signature to the forty-four nations, it already had had at least tentative consideration and approval by the appropriate committees of the Congress.

Holifield—The truth remains that UNRRA was considered by Congress. I approve of Congress participating in such an important matter to the fullest extent. I want that to be plain. The fact that matters weren't handled that way during World War I illustrates how much greater cooperation there actually is between the Executive and the Congress in this war.

I wish to cite a few more examples. The calling of the World Currency Conference, the recognition of liberation groups—although rather tardy in my opinion in the case of France—are open policies or statements. The endorsement by the President of the meeting of the International Labor Organization, which has important representative standing throughout the labor world at home and abroad, is another of

Chet Holifield

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these public moves with the purpose of either forming organizations which will help to solve postwar problems or declaring policies which Congress, we hope, will later adopt. There is in such moves an acceptance of world responsibility, and it seems to me there is also a genuine effort on the part of the Executive to find in advance of victory some of the lines of action we must later follow.

Hershey—Comparisons are constantly being made between the actions of President Roosevelt and those of the Executive in World War I, when Woodrow Wilson allegedly failed to consult the Senate in formulating plans for a world organization. On this I would like to solicit a comment from Colonel Bonsal. We all know of his having been very close to Woodrow Wilson in the peace-making after the First World War.

Stephen Bonsal—I am in the unenviable position of being the sole survivor of the gentlemen who gathered around the table where the Covenant was drafted. I think it would be useful to point out some of the rocks on which the former world organization came to shipwreck, and the reasons for it.

Leading men, in America and England, too, were talking of a world organization that entailed no impairment of national sovereignty. The proposal for a world organization with force behind it was a French idea set forth by former Premier Leon Bourgeois, and supported by Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Yugoslavia. They were defeated. I should like to present from my diary exactly what Monsieur Leon Bourgeois said when he introduced this plan for a League of Nations with teeth in it. Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts were the leading democratic gentlemen at the table to oppose and help defeat the plan. So far as I know these remarks have never been published.

Leon Bourgeois talked for twenty-two hours, not all at once, but four or five hours at a time over a period of many days. What he said can be paraphrased as follows:

> I do not conceal from you the fact that if we are to have a league and treaty, with security for all, sacrifices will have to be made. Some of our historic traditions and our long accustomed rights will have to be abandoned. But how insignificant is this loss of independent action when you contrast it with the menace that will hang over us all if the League is not established with force behind it.

Stephen Bonsal

In regard to this proposal by Bourgeois and in particular in regard to the proposed right to withdraw from the League on two years' notice, which created a tremendous battle, President Wilson said:

> One of my difficulties is that Americans demand complete assurance that they are not being called upon to give up the sovereignty of their states. I am confident, however, that the day is near when they will become as eager partisans of the sovereignty of mankind as they now are of their national or state sovereignty. But for the moment, it is necessary to take into consideration the current prejudices and make concessions to their sense of independence of will and action.
>
> I confess I would find myself in a very awkward position if the amendment is not approved. (Giving the right, that is, to withdraw on two years' notice.) Of course, no state, once it had entered, would have a moral right to withdraw, but it would have a legal right, and that only is what the proposal concedes.

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Hershey—May I ask you a question: Did Mr. Wilson want a blank check at that time or was he in favor of collaboration with Congress? We are basing our present arguments on the fact that in the first peace, in the peace of Versailles, Congress was not consulted.

Bonsal—Naturally, Mr. Wilson did not communicate to me his innermost thoughts. I am quite certain that the idea which made him so secretive, or which caused him to be charged with being secretive about the drafting of the covenants of the League, was merely that he wanted to present Congress with a completed whole, with a finished business. Very wisely perhaps, he did not wish the discussions to come out, because he knew some people would have to compromise. He realized that it is very difficult to compromise in public, where as you can compromise in a small council when it is for the best.

I did notice that Mr. Wilson had evidently very strong feelings against certain distinguished members of Congress, but against Congress as a body I don't think he had any at all.

Holifield—Colonel Bonsal, don't you think President Roosevelt, is taking a much more open and much more collaborative step with Congress than President Wilson did?

Bonsal—I do.

Holifield—I am thinking also of the present consultations between Secretary Hull and six senators, a bipartisan committee. Frankly, I would like to see at least the same number from the House sitting in with Hull and that committee. I think the President could carry collaboration even further, into the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. Yet even the fact that the Secretary of State is going so far is an indication that we learn by the mistakes of history.

Bonsal—Yes. Of course, Mr. Roosevelt is a much more able man in political life, much more experienced in political life. Mr. Wilson was a man experienced in academic life but not in politics. His guide and mentor was Colonel House. As long as they were in close relation things went pretty well, but not so well when they were separated.

To return to our subject, what worries me is that many seem still to think a world organization can be achieved without impairment of national rights and traditions. That is not so.

After their terrible experience of being again invaded and devastated, the five powers. France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Yugoslavia will be more insistent than ever on having an international army.

Hershey—That brings us to a question I I should like to throw out to this Round Table. If this first draft for a new world organization is kicked around like a football, what will be the consequence abroad? Will it drive our allies apart and send them off seeking unilateral arrangements?

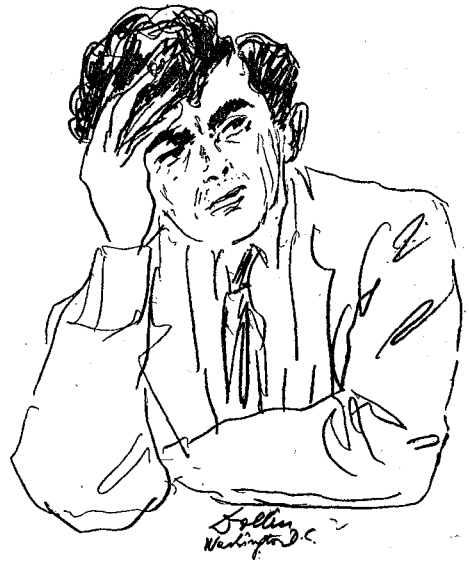
Childs—You mean if the world organization plan is kicked about in partisan politics?

Hershey—Yes.

Childs—I am sure President Roosevelt's purpose, when he holds matters more or less secret and collaborates with few people, is to avoid having our allies do the very thing you said.

Hershey—Mr. Galarza represents a large group of our neighbors in Latin America. Lets hear from him at this time.

Ernesto Galarza—There are really two questions that underlie the discussion around this table. One is a constitutional question. I suspect that not only in the United States but in other parts of the



Ernesto Galarza

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world members of legislative bodies are mindful of their constitutional prerogatives, the condition of their legislative bodies, their rights under written charters of government. The settlement of very profound international questions by more or less secretive processes must be and I think should be challenged by such legislative bodies.

The second question implicit in discussion of this kind is psychological and here we approach a much broader base.

It is my belief that if we focus our attention on what people by and large are thinking or feeling, they are more concerned with conditions of their security when this war is over than with formal guarantees of their political sovereignty.

The people with whom I talk, most of them Latin Americans, are worried about personal and collective economic and social security when this war is over. They know that many of the decisions now being taken in closed conferences will determine the nature of a postwar settlement.

People are driven by fear that after the war they may face almost the same situations that existed before the war, and over which this war is being fought.

There are parts of Latin America today which are just as badly off in regard to nutrition as parts of the Far East, but no international organization, even the recently formed UNRRA, has considered this situation.

Unless an effort is made to find out what underlies the people's fears, when the critical moment for world organization comes the people may instinctively draw back, refusing to support something that is unknown and intangible, all the arrangements for which have been kept a secret from them.

Lindley—Important as they are, it seems to me most of the topics on which Mr. Galarza has touched are auxiliary to the main purpose of a world organization, which is to prevent a major war from breaking out again.

There are many things you can accomplish if you don't have a major war, but all these collateral things become nothing unless you prevent a recurrence of a war among the major powers.

The central problem as I see it is the

Ernest K. Lindley

organization of power. You cannot, as a practical matter, police Britain, Russia, and the United States. They can form a concert of power which can police other nations, but any proposal that they cede their power to some over-all body would be purely theoretical and legal anyhow, since the war-making power resides in those particular areas.

Hershey—I think, Mr. Lindley, you have hit the crux of the entire problem, that we have got to have a plan for putting teeth into this world organization. Would you speak to this, Mr. Vorys?

Vorys—If all we do is try to set up a holy alliance to keep people from starting a war somewhere, guaranteeing the status quo as this particular holy alliance wants it to be, I think we are setting up a situation that is sure to bring on or breed wars in the future.

Lindley—May I ask who you call the holy alliance? I gather you are against a concert of power?

Vorys—What I meant was this: I hope we are not starting off on a purely alliance

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basis. We have got the enormously difficult task of moving along on all the various fronts. We tackled relief, monetary stabilization is in the offing, reconstruction finance is another one in the offing—education, food—all kinds of problems await attention.

We have got to attend to each one of them, and also have some sort of power behind our international affairs, or the mere power policy won't work long.

Hershey—Congressman Vorys, when you say "power," perhaps you could tell us what kind of an organization Congress would favor? There have been half a dozen plans suggested: A combined police force of the leading powers, a continuation of the combined chiefs of staff, a supra-national force acting under one authority, etc. Has that question ever come up in Congress? Have you people thought about it? Is there any thought as to what kind of a force you would favor?

Vorys—I think—and this is only my surmise—that Congress would not favor anything labeled "An international police force." They would prefer to have a consultive arrangement whereby we would use our forces when called upon.

Hershey—National contingents to be drawn on when needed?

Vorys—I think Congress would not be ready right now to approve even an agreed national contingent in advance. That does not happen to be my own particular viewpoint, but I think that is the general viewpoint of the Congress.

At the risk of getting off on a tangent, I want to refer again to something the Colonel mentioned, which is at the heart of this thing: the debate, in this country and throughout the world, on the meaning of the word "sovereignty."

I want to point out that the Fulbright resolution did not contain that word. The Mackinack Island resolution, the Republican postwar resolution, contained it. It was defined by Senator Vandenburg in this wise, I think, that any change made by a sovereign people is not a sacrifice but an exercise of sovereignty.

The word sovereignty popped up in the Moscow Declaration and, then, was copied into the Connally resolution, and the President, I understand, in a press conference a few days ago, has given approval to the phrase: "We must not sacrifice our sovereignty."

Childs—He used the word "independence." He very carefully *did not* use the word "sovereignty."

Lindley—That is a Republican word!

Vorys—I think the debate has been and is going to be revolving around that word, with the concept that each nation wants to "eat its cake and keep it." That is a very natural human feeling.

It seems to me, though, that the most powerful nation of all should be the one least worried about this concept of sovereignty, which is a very new concept on this planet, only a few hundred years old. It is the little nations that should be saying, "We don't care how many there are in your country or how few there are in ours, when we vote we each get one vote."

Holifield—I want to break in there, if I may.

Vorys—Certainly.

Holifield—My opinion of this word "sovereignty" is that it is like a lot of catchphrases; it is going to be used to confuse the people. Our states, our thirteen colonies, gained in very vital points by releasing certain heretofore withheld powers to the central Federal Government. They did it for their own advantage. It was not a subtraction from them of something which weakened them. It was a voluntary agreement among them to deposit certain powers in the Federal Government, by doing which they strengthened themselves from their former position.

I can conceive of the position which Colonel Bonsal took in his statement that unless there is a central depository of international power—and the details as to how power is to be deposited are yet to be drawn—there cannot be a corresponding strength there.

Regarding the international police force, I don't think the attitude of Congress will be favorable toward a unified international police force. I agree with Congressman Vorys. I do conceive, though, that there could be collaborative action on the part of the four nations where the military power now resides and where the responsibility rests for keeping the peace and for demobilizing the countries after the war. I think it could be worked out with

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a contributing force from each of the four nations of comparatively equal strength, to be called into collaborative action against any aggressor nation.

I think the world organization in the future must rest not on a holy alliance for military action alone, but on three principles. First, security. We must have security as soon as this thing is over. We must enforce military security against aggressor nations.

Second comes the building of justice, based on international law among the nations. Third comes the general welfare of the population within those nations.

Vorys—In whichever order you name them, you have to go forward on all fronts.

Holifield—While I named them in that order, that may not coincide with other people's ideas in other parts of the world. We have to move toward international justice based on an international law which will be subscribed to by the four great powers first and then by all those who want to go along. As we move forward in UNRRA and in world currency stabilization and lend-lease, and other things, we are moving forward on the welfare front as well.

Galarza—That is the point.

Holifield—UNRRA was a step forward; it did not take in all it should, but there is no reason why it cannot be broadened.

Bonsal—We are all in agreement that a world organization without force behind it will be impotent in the future, as it was in the past. So I should like to dwell on several of the difficulties that were encountered the last time the subject was taken up. Lord Robert Cecil, the ranking British representative in the Drafting Commission which I referred to before, stated:

> Unless the impending danger was in plain view, it would be impossible for a responsible officer of the British Crown to place a portion of the British army under the command of a general who is not a British subject.

As for himself he stated he would not presume to place such a suggestion even before the constitutional advisers of the King.

President Wilson agreed entirely with Lord Robert Cecil and he assured the Commission that, in his judgment, before any portion of the armed forces of the United States could be placed permanently under foreign or even international control, an amendment of the constitution would be required.

Burnet Hershey

Hershey—This may be an optimistic view, but I believe the world the British are looking at today began at Dunkirk. There may be a new concept in England. I was in England last year, and I caught some of that in the air.

Bonsal—I should add that there are people in England and people in America who are of that opinion still.

Hershey—After the last war, the generation that fought claimed, and justifiably so, that they were very little consulted about the making of the peace. They said it was "a young man's war but an old man's peace." You have heard that phrase, Mr. Lindley. What do you think the reaction of the soldier will be after this war?

Lindley—If the pattern of the last war is repeated psychologically, you are going to have a lot of service men coming back thinking the United States is more wonderful than they ever thought it was before. They are going to be fed up with the irritations of contacts with other civilizations overseas, and I expect the civilizations with which they come in contact will be fed up with the Amerian doughboy in many respects also.

I would guess, without trying to get too far out on a limb, that there probably won't

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be any crystallized opinion among those men as to mechanisms. They all know they don't want anybody to go through this again. Yet certainly there has been nothing in such samplings of opinion of soldiers as one has been able to get that indicates any crystallized thought; in fact, there is plenty of evidence that they are not thinking very much about it. They are preoccupied with the job they have to do now, and the preoccupation is certainly justified.

Vorys—Corroborating Mr. Lindley, I have in the past year talked to American GI's and generals on three continents, and their war and peace aims are very clear. They want to get it over and get home and not have it happen again, and they are leaving to the people at home the matter of getting them home and not having it happen again.

Lindley—Yes.

Hershey—There is one partisan question I would like to throw out for an answer by either Congressman Vorys or Congressman Holifield:

What can we expect in the event the peace is drawn by a Republican administration? The Democrats can answer for the Republicans, or vice versa.

Holifield—I am going to let the Republican answer that, and then I will criticize what he says.

Vorys—I happen to believe that because of our constitutional set-up, and because Congress, representing the people, is going to have a lot to say about the peace, it will not make any profound difference in the nature of the degree of participation, which party is in power at the time the peace is formed.

We make a mistake when we think about a green baize table and one day not having a peace settlement, while the next day we have one.

I think there may be quite a considerable period of undeclared peace, just as we started with an undeclared war.

I think the Republican administration will go further in protecting the interests of the United States than the New Deal would, based on performance to date.

Otherwise, I think there would be no great difference in the degree of participation.

Hershey—Congressman Holifield, do you care to reply now?

Holifield—I would like to comment on two points in Congressman Vorys' statement:

First, I would like to agree with him on the picture he drew of statesmen sitting around a green baize table one day and drawing up the peace, all the important factors in the peace. The procedure will not be so simple.

I believe, as I have heretofore stated in this discourse that the peace policies are now being set by open declarations, by the endorsement of certain organizations like UNRRA and the ILO and a World Currency Stabilization Conference—things that have a direct bearing on the peace.

Now, I will agree with Mr. Vorys that if the war and the Democratic administration continue long enough for us to settle all these points by the constructive process which has been exhibited by the present administration, it won't make any difference if the Republicans come into power.

I will disagree with him on the record of the two parties in the establishment of a permanent peace. On the record, because during the last war a constructive attempt was made by President Wilson to set up the League of Nations and the World Court as a tentative solution. The League of Nations, although imperfect in its set-up, achieved a great many international solutions. It is commonly overlooked by the ordinary person that the League did settle a great many international problems.

The record shows that after the first war, the succeeding Republican administration, headed by Mr. Harding, paid lip service to an international organization. His leaders however, in the Senate, refused to go ahead along the lines of an international organization.

I point out that in this war, the record up to date has been one of international collaboration toward achieving lasting peace; therefore, I think it important that the Democratic administration continue until a permanent peace organization is established.

Hershey—As an independent voter, I might say that I along with a great many other Americans, hope for a peace that passeth all misunderstandings.

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A CHARTER *for* A SAFE WORLD

by

FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA

Mayor of New York City

In the flush of victory the Atlantic Charter cannot be construed now with new ideas of selfish ambitions, national or personal. Its intent can only be understood in the light of the hours of danger and disaster in which it was born. It is a solemn pledge to remove the causes of war.

WHEN men are in great sorrow they speak from the innermost of their souls. When men are in great danger they think clearly and act unselfishly for their own safety and that of others. In every catastrophe or great cataclysm in the history of the world, men have thought not only of immediate protection but of future safety and avoidance of the causes that brought disaster. In the days when pestilence raged, taking terrific toll of life, men gave thought not only to healing the sick at the moment, but to finding ways and means to avoid future epidemics. In our own country, in its early days, and even during its growth and development, communities faced with dangers pooled their forces and resources, primarily for their own safety but with thought and consideration for their near and distant neighbors.

It was in such a period of stark danger and in an atmosphere of deep sorrow that two great men, leaders of two great people, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, met. From this historic meeting on a battleship in mid-ocean came the Atlantic Charter. To understand this covenant we must know the background. We must consider the situation of that time. We must bear in mind the danger facing Great Britain and the United States. We must not forget the determination of the British people and that of the people of our own country not to submit at whatever cost to Nazi tyranny. All this is necessary to clearly understand what brought forth the Atlantic Charter, and its true intent and meaning.

Let us recall the military situation of that day. August 14, 1941—The Axis powers were at the peak of their strength, military victories and chance of ultimate success. The Battle of Britain, that is war brought right to British soil with civilians the victims, began about August 1940, and increased its intensity right up to the very day of the Atlantic Charter. Thousands of German planes raided British cities, day after day, hour after hour.

Coventry, Birmingham, Bristol and every industrial city and port took merciless pounding month after month. In April 1941 London was constantly under air attack and tons of bombs dropped upon it

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day after day for weeks and months. Liverpool was partially wiped out in April. Portsmouth and other ports were successively attacked during that summer.

RECENT changes in the military situation crowd out these unpleasant memories but the fact remains that in August 1941 it was not at all certain that the Axis forces would not invade Great Britain, and no one knew better than President Roosevelt that if they did we would have to defend our own shores and prepare for a ten-year war of defense.

The casualties, dead and injured, of civilians in Great Britain, noncombatants, men, women and children mounted to over one hundred thousand by that time.

Let us look at our own shores. German submarines were within sight of the Atlantic and Gulf coast. Up to May 1941, Allied shipping had suffered a loss of 6,127,673 tons of ships. The Battle of the Atlantic raged simultaneously with the Battle of Britain. There were periods immediately preceding the memorable day of August in 1941 when it seemed as if the Axis powers could cut off the source of supply to Great Britain and cut communication between the nations of the British Commonwealth.

Remember, too, that when President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill met on the battleship in the Atlantic, their purpose was to prepare a long, defensive warfare and have plans ready in the event of the Nazi occupation of the British Isles. The Axis powers had already occupied, and were holding and bleeding Czechoslovakia and Poland and Finland and Denmark and Norway and a great part of France. Italy, under Fascists and braintrusted by Nazi mentality, had entered the war, had been successful against the spear-armed fighters of Ethiopia, and had been driving successfully in North Africa. Her Navy at the disposal of the Nazis, was effectively policing the Mediterranean. There were periods when it was not known whether the defense of the Suez could hold out. As a matter of fact, the Canal was often closed to navigation for long periods. In June of that year 1941 the British suffered reverses in Greece and were compelled to evacuate Crete. Germany rushed to the aid of Italy and successfully invaded Yugoslavia and Greece. Salonika was lost and the Balkans with the rich oil fields of Romania, were under complete control of the Axis forces.

Dunkirk was the constant reminder of the critical situation. Only one day prior to the Atlantic Charter (and surely the news reached the battleship) Marshal Pétain signed the Collaboration Treaty with Germany which actually turned over to the Nazis all the resources of France and control of the entire Channel and Mediterranean coast of that country. Germany was pushing Russia hard. By August 14, 1941, Odessa had been encircled, the Nazi troops were advancing between the Dneiser and Dneiper Rivers, and had taken control of the mineral regions of Krivoi Rog. The bread basket of Europe, the Ukraine, already had been evacuated, leaving the Nazis in control of the entire wheat country.

While there were some people in our country who perhaps could not or would not evaluate properly and fully our own situation, our common interest with Great Britain, and the inevitable attack which would follow a Nazi victory in Europe, the military and naval minds of our country were working frantically, utilizing every second of time while our President pleaded with Congress for necessary appropriations.

A gloomier military situation could not possibly have existed for Great Britain. Democracy was never nearer complete annihilation than it was then. Our country was never in greater danger—not even on the day when the British marched into Washington and burned our Capitol.

Assurance had to be given to the world, in the midst of this critical situation, in the face of the apparent military successes of the Axis forces, that there was still hope for all of the people of the world, and that the United States and Great Britain had pledged their sacred honor to see it through. For centuries to come, the Atlantic Charter must be read and understood and followed and adhered to in the light of that period and what it meant at that time. It cannot be abridged. It cannot be reduced. It cannot be weakened. It must be interpreted straight from men's souls in the way it was written. It cannot be construed now, in the flush of victory with new ideas and selfish ambitions, national or personal. None of its fundamental principles can be

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changed now. It is man's covenant with heaven.

WHAT is the Atlantic Charter? First: Great Britain and the United States "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other." Everybody can understand that. The people of the two countries must see that this pledge is carried out.

Second: "They (the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States) desire to seek no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." Can there be any doubt as to the meaning of that? Why all the discussion now, when the war is not even over, as to what the Atlantic Charter means? It means simply that no country or any part of a country can be taken and given to someone against the wishes of the natives, the inhabitants. They, alone, are to decide. Territorial confines are to be fixed in accord with the wishes of the people themselves, not by a pencil line drawn arbitrarily on a colored map.

Third: The two nations pledged their respect for "the rights of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." That too is clear. All occupied countries are to be restored and their people are to decide what form of government they now desire. It also means that colonies or islands that have been unhappy in the past and have had little or no say in their own destiny, in their own government, have been guaranteed the right of self-determination and of deciding whether they will go back to the old status or will establish their own government. Iceland is the first to indicate her desire to be independent and to become a democracy.

Fourth: Here, perhaps, the one cause which, more than any other, has produced wars, is sincerely faced. The two countries "will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." Let no American be deceived. Here one of the causes of war has been

Mayor LaGuardia

touched upon. If soon we start talking about new tariff barriers, if we seek in any way to deviate from this principle so vital in a new world order, the boys in our schools today will be in the Third World War.

Fifth: The Charter expresses the desire "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security." There is nothing new in this. It often has been talked about. It has been sung for centuries, yet very little has been done about it. Here is a solemn pledge, here is the sacred word of honor given by two great people to bring about a decent standard of living for all people and proper adjustment for security. In this respect, to date, man has failed miserably. God Almighty in His Wisdom provided the world with sufficient food and everything man needs. Man has not been able to use it properly. To the contrary, man has hoarded, has pilfered, and has sought to monopolize at the expense of others, God's own gift to all.

Sixth: The sacred promise is given that "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny . . . that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." This is too precious to be left as historic poetry. It must be translated into action. It must be given life and vitality and reality at home and abroad, to present friends and to past foes.

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Seventh—and Eighth: Promise is given of access to the high seas and the abandonment of the use of force. It gives notice to the Axis powers,—that includes Japan too—that they will not be permitted again to arm. That is so clear that it requires no explanation and will permit of no change.

Let not the sentimentalists cry too soon for mercy. No mercy was shown at any time anywhere prior to August 14, 1941. No mercy was shown at Pearl Harbor in December of that year. No mercy has been shown to the innocent people of the occupied countries of Europe. No mercy has been shown to many of our own prisoners. Every possible semblance of a source or possibility of repetition on the part of Nazis or Japs must be fully, completely and entirely removed.

THERE is altogether too much talk at this time as to what the Atlantic Charter really means. It means exactly what it says. There is too much being said and sometimes from high authoritative sources, that of course it has to be considered in the light of changed conditions. Oh no, not that! It must be construed in the light of the conditions which brought it about and what it seeks to achieve. It must be construed and applied in the light of what we know about human history, ancient and contemporary. That cannot be changed. It must be construed and enforced in accordance with what it meant, what it means and what it will mean to the entire world.

It must be construed in the light of what is best and most spiritual in man. It must be construed as Churchill, the man who saved his country—and as Roosevelt, who wants to save democracy, intended that it should be understood. Not what Churchill, the Parliamentarian, may say occasionally now, nor what Roosevelt, facing an election, may say later—but what two truly great statesmen said in unison at a time when freedom and liberty were threatened, when two fine souls spoke for the future of their countries and for the safety of the world.

Accord Protects Nazi Victims

THE order to American invasion troops to make no purchase in France, either of manufactured goods or of foodstuffs, highlights the depletion, both in real goods and in finances, that has resulted from the German occupation. France faces today the dual internal hazards of a disastrous inflation and of the failure of its already very scant supplies to meet the needs of its civilian population. The thoroughness and method with which France has been drained by Germany have brought the country to the verge of ruin.

The record of material plunder includes some 7,000 railway engines and 280,000 trucks, about a half and two-thirds respectively of all that France had before the war; 270,000 tons of cement used for fortification works; 8 million cwts. of wheat—reducing the reserve of bread cereals for Paris to 16 days' provisions; 70 per cent of the annual output of butter; and a confiscation of the meat supply culminating in the requisitioning of 170,000 head of cattle in the last three months.

As the sources of the national income have disappeared, there has been no diminution in the flow of war indemnity payments to Germany. The Armistice conditions provided for the payment by France of 500 million francs a day for the cost of the German occupation, with an additional 15 milliards annually to be paid Italy, but now also part of the cash payments to Germany. The total burden amounts to about 1.2 milliards of francs a day.

Revenue from taxation of French citizens amounts to 120 milliards, leaving an annual deficit of 300 milliards. This was covered last year by the new government loans and supplementary note issues—but owing to the steady fall in the volume of goods, these notes are not backed by even an approximate equivalent value. Consequently there is acute danger that French economic life may collapse by inflation. It is on this situation that Allied authorities have their eyes fixed with evident concern, and it is this which underlies the agreement recently made in Washington between the War, Treasury and State Departments on the one hand, and Pierre Mendes-France, Finance Commissioner of the French National Committee on the other, to protect France from further financial strain or depletion of its real goods as a result of invasion.

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Freedom *From*

&

Freedom *For*

by

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

While Americans fight to defend our freedoms, we must enlist as soldiers in a war to win more freedom for them, says Justice Douglas in this speech made at the recent opening of Free World House, New York.

THE idea of freedom is as old as the fact of oppression. It has often been as simple. But it no longer is.

Historically, freedom has generally meant "freedom from" or "freedom against." The fight for freedom has in the main been an "against" movement. This has been the case even when the people involved have believed with deep faith in vivid, positive ideas of freedom.

The most obvious example of positive idealists being forced to assume that role is perhaps that of the Christian martyrs under the Roman Empire. The great English historian Arnold Toynbee has called the Christian the revolutionary proletarian of the Roman Empire. As Gibbon said, the Bishops had as much to do with overthrowing the cruel and decadent Empire as the barbarians. Yet Christianity clearly was anything but a negative movement. No religion and no philosophy has ever revealed a more detailed picture of the Good Life.

The point is that the Christians were not free to win the Good Life under the tyranny of the Empire. To be sure, the slaves who became converts tried to render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's. But under the Caesars they could not be loyal slaves and free souls at the same time.

In order to attain the positive and spiritual ideals of Christianity, the slaves had to rise in revolt against the injustices of this world. The fact of oppression made the idea of freedom a negative one. Being negative, it was relatively simple.

Then there is the immortal Charles Dickens whose work is one of the great bonds between British and American culture. Dickens was foremost a literary craftsman rather than a preacher or a teacher. He was in the entertainment business. David Copperfield is hard to put down once you start reading. And Bleak House (perhaps it is not discreet of me to mention this satire on pettifogging lawyers) matches almost any detective story written in recent years.

But after all tribute has been paid to Dickens the artist, the fact remains that his work also constituted an important chapter in the history of freedom. He may not have planned it that way. Dickens wanted to

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write about people—about families, about sentiment, about all the memories and hopes that make life warm and happy, especially for children when they are beginning to look hopefully out upon the world. Dickens was sentimental. This is precisely why his books were bombs exploding upon entrenched tyranny. He could not write about children and forget the unfortunate ones like Oliver Twist. He could not write about Oliver Twist without making all the world weep and cry out for reform.

The freedom for children which Dickens especially demanded—and was instrumental in winning—was simple and negative. It was freedom from a devastating form of oppression.

THERE is a difference between freedom from abuse and the freedom that comes from using the liberty which is won from tyranny for the realization of a new ideal of human rights.

For us there can be no more eloquent or pointed illustration of that difference than slavery. No one had a better right to criticize America than Dickens. For the audience he found here made him as much an American as an Englishman. In 1842 he called the America of slave days the "false Republic." And he helped us right a great wrong. In his American Notes he called slave-owning Americans who lived in the society proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence "lights of freedom." He said they "cut pleasant posies in the shrinking flesh, (and) learn to write with pens of red hot iron on the human face. . . . Shall we whimper over legends of the tortures practiced on each other by the Pagan Indians and smile upon the cruelties of Christian men!"

No doubt Dickens exaggerated. But twenty years later the Emancipation Proclamation ended slavery.

The evils Dickens denounced needed only to be described. The freedom he advocated became clear for all to see—so clear that all were inspired to protest and then to march.

THE distinction between the freedom that is negative and the more complex and elusive freedom which victory over tyranny gives us an opportunity to win is an important one. Walter Lippmann pointed out its significance in his Preface to Politics. The Emancipation Proclamation, he said, "broke a legal bond but not a social one. The process of negro emancipation is infinitely slower and it is not accomplished yet. . . . I do not think the Abolitionists saw facts truly when they disbanded their organization a few years after the civil war. They found too much comfort in a change of legal status. Profound economic forces brought about the beginning of the end of chattel slavery. But the reality of freedom was not achieved by proclamation. For that the revolution had to go on. The industrial life of the nation had to change its character, social customs had to be replaced, the whole outlook of men had to be transformed." That was in 1913. Today, a generation later, and three generations after Lincoln's martyrdom in the cause of freedom, that truth stands out in bold relief. The moral is clear: negative freedom—the freedom to win a new freedom—is precious and indispensable. But it is not enough.

This evening you are dedicating Free World House. America needs the contribution you hope to make. So does the world if it is to gain more freedom than it has had. At this stage of the war, the immediate task rests on the shoulders of our armed forces, 11,000,000 men strong, and those of our Allies. The military phase of the war can be counted on to emancipate the millions of people in Europe and Asia upon whom our enemy has imposed the new slavery. But this is all that the military phase of any war can do.

IT is idle to deplore the fact that the military war can win us no more than a military victory. We should thank God that high success on the fields of battle has come to us. We pray that we will win the impending battles as quickly and as cheaply as possible. But we must not expect force to yield us more than force ever can—freedom from violence and slavery, freedom from dependence on force, the freedom to become free.

The armed forces of the United Nations are mobilized against the armed forces of the new slavery. The gallantry of our men, their courage and efficiency are established

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beyond doubt. Our forces must be as tough as the forces of our enemies. The record shows that they are. But our strength is not in our armed forces alone. We are mobilized against the ideological, as well as the military, forces of the enemy. The real reserves of Fascism in this war are the ideological storm-troopers being held for the political war that will flare up after our armies have beaten the enemy in battle.

We know that democracy can organize and discipline itself. Our achievement from Pearl Harbor to the present proves this. But that achievement has been the product of a crisis—a crisis which suddenly threatened our freedoms. Democracy was born out of the struggle for those freedoms. In the last few years we have succeeded in accomplishing a miracle of organization to protect those freedoms. No such dramatic and compelling crisis will threaten America in the political war which will come after the shooting has ended and our freedoms have been saved. Our safety will not be directly imperiled. On the contrary, life will be normal again. Our liberties will not be in question. The problem facing us will no longer be whether we can rise to a dramatic crisis. It will be whether we can plan and organize in the absence of pressure and imminent danger. It will be whether we can make a truly Free World out of the freedoms we have saved for ourselves and proclaimed for those now in slavery. The millennium will not have arrived when the arms are laid down at the end of the present conflict.

AMERICA'S contribution to a Free World is related, in large measure, to America's ability to make democracy work at home. Nothing is more essential to world peace and prosperity than a free, fully employed America. If we turn out to be poor managers of our own affairs, we will have inferior credentials to present abroad. Only if we manage sensible solutions of our own problems and demonstrate in a continuously successful way the practical operation of our democratic system, will we have earned the right and be able to offer constructive leadership in world affairs.

Free and tolerant democracy is not safe in any nation half at work and half idle. Free and tolerant democracy is not safe in a world half at work and half idle. No world settlement that affords nations only a place on relief rolls will provide the basis for a just and durable peace.

Justice William O. Douglas

I HAVE been re-reading recently some of the early lectures of Sun Yat Sen, in which he unfolded his vision of a free and democratic China. As of that day—some twenty years ago—his program called upon his own people to realize their own capacities, to control their destinies in their own land, to be free from even a benevolent tutelage of foreign powers. His vision was not of an isolated China or an imperialistic China, but of a free China in a free, cooperative world.

The other day I listened for some hours to the exciting story of the outstanding work of Dr. Y. C. James Yen in bringing into the huts and villages of China many practical phases of that broad democratic program. The Chinese leaders of yesterday and today have produced the great Republic of China. And that Republic has demonstrated its new vigor by withstanding for seven years the ravages of the brutal invader. There is tremendous strength in freedom. The rebirth of China is a living example of the vitality of the ideal of freedom and of democratic principles.

China can do for China, France for France, America for America, what no other nation can do. What may accord with the

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spirit and self-interest of one country might not be wise or practical elsewhere. Each people has a genius of its own. I hope we Americans remain true to our own genius and our own traditions. I hope we Americans do not deny that opportunity to others.

IN dedicating Free World House, you are dedicating yourself to the post-war war against the next war. Let us pledge ourselves to fight against our own short-sightedness and complacency. You are pledging yourselves to spread the gospel that America's national interest is dependent upon the security and prosperity of the rest of the world; that the peoples we will need as friends in time of peace we will sorely need as allies in time of war.

You are pledging yourselves to fight a political war on a world battle front against the ideological storm-troopers being trained by Fascism now for the next chapter of the old war—the war to prevent democracy (that is, humanity) from achieving positive freedom. There will always be some freedom in the world. Yet the world has never been free. You, therefore, are among the first soldiers to enlist in the next war. If you win, we shall not have to fight it.

●

M. P.'S on Churchill's Speech

By Cable from London

THE speech on British Foreign Policy which Prime Minister Churchill delivered thirteen days before D-Day in the House of Commons is still widely discussed in political circles in London. The three following excerpts of this address were submitted to influential members of Parliament by your representative in London. The excerpts read:

1. "I am here today to speak kindly words about Spain . . . There is a clear line of distinction between nations who go to war with you and nations who leave you alone.

2. "The reason why the United States and Great Britain have not been able to recognize it (the French Committee of National Liberation) as the Government of France is because we are not sure it represents the French Nation.

3. ". . . for the purpose of preventing wars there must be a world council comprising the greatest states which emerge victorious from this war."

Commenting on the first point, Dr. Haden Guest (widely traveled labor intellectual M.P.) said, "Isn't a fascist government anywhere preparation for attack?" Even conservative papers did not agree with Churchill's praise of Franco's nonbelligerency. The* Daily Mail *proclaimed: "We may acknowledge Spain's negative, nonparticipationary succor to Britain without forgetting much Spanish aid to the enemy, including the Blue Division."

Sir Richard Acland, Common Wealth leader, offered this comment on points one and two: "Franco's praise reflects more than Churchill's personal opinion. The refusal to recognize De Gaulle on both sides of the Atlantic equals an Anglo-American statement to the world. It seems apparent that European gentlemanly fascists will get sympathetic consideration in the post-invasion period; underground movements' claims will be resisted."

Even some Tories are critical of the non-recognition policy applied to the French Committee of National Liberation. Sir Edward Grigg, influential M. P. said, "General de Gaulle was fighting on our side when the United States was neutral. He represented resistance and that resistance equals France. Churchill's consideration to France is inadequate."

And Arthur Greenwood, leader of the parliamentary Labor party stated: "Unfortunately no details were given to the proposed world assembly. The world cannot be run by three or four big powers. It must develop through economic cooperation as foreshadowed by the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Hot Springs Conference."

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WE Polish Jews

THE MOST CELEBRATED POET OF POLAND PUTS ON THE MANTLE OF A NEW FAITH — BORN IN THE BLOOD OF MARTYRS.

By JULIAN TUWIM

To my Mother in Poland or to her beloved Shadow

. . . . . AND immediately I can hear the question: "What do you mean—WE?" The question, I grant you, is natural enough. Jews to whom I am wont to explain that I am a Pole have asked it. So will the Poles to the overwhelming majority of whom I am and shall remain a Jew. Here is my answer to both.

I am a Pole because I want to be. It's nobody's business but my own. I certainly have not the slightest intention of rendering account, explaining, or justifying it to anyone. I do not divide Poles into pure-stock Poles and alien-stock Poles. I leave such classification to pure and alien-stock advocates of racialism, to domestic and foreign Nazis. I divide Poles just as I divide Jews and all other nations into the intelligent and the fools, the honest and the dishonest, the brilliant and the dull-witted, the exploited and the exploiters, gentlemen and cads. I also divide Poles into Fascists and anti-Fascists. Neither of these groups is of course homogeneous; each shimmers with a variety of hues and shades. But a dividing line certainly does exist, and soon will become quite apparent. Shades may remain, but the color of the dividing line itself will both brighten and deepen to a marked degree.

I can say that in the realm of politics I divide Poles into anti-Semites and anti-Fascists. For Fascism means always anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is the international language of Fascism.

II

"IF, however, it comes to explaining my nationality, or rather my sense of national belonging, then I am a Pole for the most simple, almost primitive reasons. Mostly rational, partly irrational, but devoid of any "mystical" flourishes. To be a Pole is neither an honor nor a glory nor a privilege. It is like breathing. I have not yet met a man who is proud of breathing.

I am a Pole because it was in Poland that I was born and bred, that I grew up and learned; because it was in Poland that I was happy and unhappy; because from exile it is to Poland that I want to return, even though I were promised the joys of paradise elsewhere.

A Pole – because, due to some tender prejudice which I am unable to justify by any logic or reason, I desire after death to be absorbed and dissolved into Polish soil and none other.

A Pole—because I have been told so in Polish in my own paternal home, because since infancy I have been nurtured in the Polish tongue; because my mother taught me Polish songs and Polish rhymes; because when poetry first seized me, it was in Polish words that it burst forth; because what in my life became paramount – poetical creation—would be unthinkable in

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any other tongue no matter how fluent I might become in it.

A Pole—because it was in Polish that I confessed to the quiverings of my first love, and in Polish that I babbled of its bliss and storm.

A Pole—also because the birch and the willow are closer to my heart than palms and citrus trees, and Mickiewicz and Chopin dearer than Shakespeare and Beethoven. Dearer for reasons which again I'd be at a loss to explain.

A Pole—because I have taken over from the Poles quite a few of their national faults. A Pole—because my hatred of *Polish* Fascists is greater than my hatred of Fascists of other nationalities. And I consider that particular point as a strong mark of my nationality.

Above all a Pole—because I want to be.

III

"ALL right," someone will say, "granted you are a Pole. But in that case, why 'we Jews'?" To which I answer: "BECAUSE OF BLOOD." "Then racialism again?" No, not racialism at all. Quite the contrary.

There are two kinds of blood: that inside of veins, and that which spurts from them. The first is the sap of the body, and as such comes under the realm of physiologists. Whoever attributes to this blood any other than biological characteristics and powers will in consequence, as we have seen, turn towns into smoking ruins, will slaughter millions of people, and at last, as we shall yet see, bring carnage upon his own kin.

The other kind of blood is the same blood but spilled by this gang-leader of international Fascism to testify to the triumph of his gore over mine, the blood of millions of murdered innocents, a blood not hidden in arteries but revealed to the world. Never since the dawn of mankind has there been such a flood of martyr blood, and the blood of Jews (not Jewish blood, mind you) flows in widest and deepest streams. Already its blackening rivulets are flowing together into a tempestuous river. AND IT IS IN THIS NEW JORDAN THAT I BEG TO RECEIVE THE BAPTISM OF BAPTISMS; THE BLOODY, BURNING, MARTYRED BROTHERHOOD OF JEWS.

Take me, my brethren, into that glorious bond of Innocently Shed Blood. To that community, to that church I want to belong from now on.

Let that high rank—the rank of the Jew Doloris Causa—be bestowed upon a Polish poet by the nation which produced him. Not for my merit, for I can claim none in your eyes. I will consider it a promotion and the highest award for those few Polish poems which may survive me and will be connected with the memory of my name—the name of a Polish Jew.

IV

UPON the armbands which you wore in the ghetto the star of David was painted. I believe in a future Poland in which that star of your armbands will become the highest order bestowed upon the bravest among Polish officers and soldiers. They will wear it proudly upon their breasts next to the old Virtuti Militari. There also will be a Cross of the Ghetto—a deeply symbolic name. There will be the Order of the Yellow Patch, denoting more merit than many a present tinsel. And there shall be in Warsaw and in every other Polish city some fragment of the ghetto left standing and preserved in its present form in all its horror of ruin and destruction. We shall surround that monument to the ignominy of our foes and to the glory of our tortured heroes with chains wrought from captured Hitler's guns, and every day we shall twine fresh live flowers into its iron links, so that the memory of the massacred people shall remain forever fresh in the minds of the generations to come, and also as a sign of our undying sorrow for them.

Thus a new monument will be added to the national shrine.

There we will lead our children, and tell them of the most monstrous martyrdom of people known to the history of mankind. And in the center of this monument, its tragedy enhanced by the rebuilt magnificence of the surrounding city, there will burn an eternal fire. Passersby will uncover their heads before it.

And those who are Christians will cross themselves.

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Thus it will be with pride, mournful pride, that we shall count ourselves of that glorious rank which will outshine all others—the rank of the Polish Jew, we who by miracle or by chance have remained alive. With pride? Let us rather say: with contrition and gnawing shame. For it was bestowed upon us for the sake of your torment, your glory, Redeemers;

. . . And so perhaps I should not say "we Polish Jews," but "we ghosts, we shadows of our slaughtered brethren, the Polish Jews." . . .

V

WE Polish Jews. . . . We, everliving, who have perished in the ghettos and camps, and we ghosts who, from across seas and oceans, will some day return to the homeland and haunt the ruins in our unscarred bodies and our wretched, presumably spared souls.

We, the truth of the graves, and we, the illusion of living; we, millions of corpses and we, a few, perhaps a score of thousands of quasi non-corpses; we, that boundless brotherly tomb, we, a Jewish burial ground such as was never seen before and will never be seen again.

We, suffocated in gas-chambers and turned into soap—a soap that will not wash clean the stains of our blood nor the stigma of the sin the world has perpetrated upon us.

We, whose brains spattered upon the walls of our miserable dwellings and the walls under which we were stood for mass execution solely because we were Jews.

We, the Golgotha upon which an endless forest of crosses could be raised. We, who two thousand years ago gave humanity a Son of Man slaughtered by the Roman Empire, and this one innocent death was enough to make Him God. What religion will arise from millions of deaths, tortures, degradations and arms stretched wide in the last agony of despair?

We Abies, we Kikes, we Sheenies whose names and nick-names will some day exceed in dignity those of Achilles, Boleslaus the Brave, and Richard Coeur-de-Lion.

We, once more in the catacombs, in the manholes under Warsaw pavements, splashing in the stink of sewers to the surprise of our companions—the rats.

We, rifle in hand upon barricades, amidst the ruins of our homes bombed from the sky above; we—soldiers of honor and freedom.

"Kike, go and fight!" He did, Gentlemen, and laid down his life for Poland.

We, who made a fortress of every threshold while house after house crashed about us.

We, Polish Jews growing wild in forests, feeding our terrified children on roots and grass; we crawling, crouching, bedraggled and unkempt, armed with an antique shotgun obtained by some miraculous feat of begging and bribing.

"Have you heard the one about the Jewish game-keeper? It's a riot. The Jew fired, and by golly if he didn't wet his pants from fright! Ha! Ha!"

We, Jobs, we Niobes, mourning the loss of hundreds of thousands of our little ones.

We, deep pits of broken, crushed bones and twisted, welted bodies;

We—the scream of pain! A scream so shrill that the most distant ages shall hear it. We—the Lament, the Howl, we—the Choir chanting a sepulchral El Mole Rachim whose echo will be passed from one century to the next.

We—history's most glorious heap of bloody manure with which we have fertilized the Polish soil so that the bread of freedom may be sweeter for those who will survive us.

We, the macabre remnants, we—the last of the Mohicans, the pityful survivors of slaughter whom some new Barnum may well exhibit throughout the world, proclaiming upon multi-colored billboards: "Super Show! The biggest sensation of the World! Genuine Polish Jews. Alive!" We, the Chamber of Horrors, Schreckenskammer, Chamber des Tortures! "Nervous persons better leave the audience!"

We, who sit and weep upon the shores of distant rivers, as once we sat on the banks of Babylon. All over the world does Rachel bewail her children, and they are no more. On the banks of the Hudson, of the Thames, of the Euphrates and the Nile, of the Ganges and Jordan we wander, scattered and forlorn, crying: "Vistula! Vistula! Mother of ours! Grey Vistula turned rosy not with the rosiness of dawn but that of blood!"

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We, who will not even find the graves of our mothers and children, so deep are the layers, so widely spread all over the country in one huge burial ground. There will be no one sacred plot upon which to lay our flowers; but even as a sower sows grain so shall we fling them in a wide gesture. And, one maybe will find the spot.

We, Polish Jews. . . . We, the legend dripping with tears and blood. A legend, perhaps, fit only to be told in Biblical verses "graven with an iron pen and read in the rock forever" (Job XIX, 24). We—the Apocalyptical stage of history. We—Jeremiah's Lamentations:

. . ."The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword; thou hast slain them in the day of thine anger; thou hast killed, and not pitied." . . .

. . . "They have cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over my head, then I said, I am cut off! . . . I called upon thy name O Lord, out of the low dungeon . . . O Lord, thou hast seen my wrong: judge thou my cause . . . Render unto them a recompense, O Lord, according to the work of their hands! Give them sorrow of heart, thy curse unto them. Persecute and destroy them in anger from under the heavens of the Lord!" (Jeremiah Lamentations, III).

* * *

A huge and still growing ghost-skeleton looms over Europe. From his empty eye-sockets blazes the fire of dangerous wrath, and his fingers are clutched in a bony fist. It is He—our Leader, our Dictator who shall dictate our rights and our demands.

. . . We, the Illusion of the Living

woodcut by Charles Quest

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FRANCE

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The Gestapo Gives Me the Third Degree

THEY found me in my own house one day when I went home at noon. At the dining room door they grabbed me. Eight plain-clothes men began striking me. Soon they were bouncing a ball around the room—and that ball was I. By the time they stopped slamming me about and started to ask questions I had no tie, no buttons, no shoestrings left. Two of the men spoke good French. I answered nothing.

Suddenly they pushed me against the wall and the eight pointed their guns at me. The chief pulled a watch as big and round as an alarm clock out of his pocket and told me, "I give you five minutes to tell us where Mr. X is." Laying the watch down in front of me he called, "Four minutes . . . three minutes." My brain reeled; the clock pounded; everything in the apartment seemed to crack and break. The men were searching, smashing everything. The woodwork and moldings were split open. The old plates with their scenes from the French Revolution crashed from the wall to the floor. I heard the pipes falling in the bathroom. These men had an extraordinary talent for destruction and I detested them for the methodical way in which they went about wrecking my possessions.

"One minute . . . fifty seconds . . . forty seconds." I wished they would shoot. I lost track of time and found myself wondering, "Did they shoot or not?" It seemed to me that I myself was counting, "Twenty seconds . . . ten seconds." They jerked my head up suddenly, pressed the gun to my temple. The cold muzzle of the gun woke me.

Then it started again. They beat me, questioned me, tried to bribe me with promises. Time passed. If my mother could have seen the place!

Finally they put me in an armchair, dried my face, put my clothes and my tie back on and gave me a glass of rum while (without giving me any) they ate the supply of chocolate that my mother had hidden.

I looked almost normal. As we went down the stairs one of the men took my arm in a friendly way and as a neighbor passed us said, "Before your examination we'll meet your father in the country. That will do you a lot of good." Their act was so good that they carried the whole thing off with complete success. I climbed into a beautiful French car next to the driver. I was hungry. And I knew where we were going.

●

I was taken to the Hotel Terminus. My examination, which took place in a large sunny room, went on and on. I denied everything and refused to recognize any of the men and women whose pictures were shown me.

After a while I was led into an empty room, without any furniture, without any curtains, with only a shade at the window. The noise coming up from the square gave me courage. There I sat, bound to a chair. A guard brought in four enormous hounds and pulled down the shade. The dogs milled around in the darkness, sniffed at me, snarled, put their paws on my shoulders. At a

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signal they would all bark while one of them jumped at my throat. The guard went out. I was alone with the hounds. I was tense and hungry . . . and it all went on forever.

Punching and kicking me the police dragged me out of the room. I still refused to talk. They pressed my hand against a lighted cigarette, opened my shirt and burnt my chest with a cigar. I was so worn out by then that I really believed they were going to end by killing me. Oddly enough my watch was still running and at about four in the afternoon my tormentors slowly ate a large fish which was set down in a silver platter before me.

After their meal they began again, beating me so long and so vigorously that I was completely exhausted. I was racked by fever and my whole body trembled. At that moment, perhaps, if they had hit me once more I might have talked.

Instead they led me into a room where there was a bathtub filled with water. They plunged my head into the water, choked me, drowned me, then revived me with heavy blows. Still I refused to talk.

It was dark when we left the Hotel Terminus—eleven o'clock at night in the familiar streets of Lyons.

•

I was alone in the cell of a fortress. Three days, three nights of fever and aching bruises. The blows had given me a sinus headache so terrible that I felt that I was going mad with the throbbing pain.

Days passed. There was nothing to do. The schedule was the same every day. We rose at 7:00 and swept the cell.

Next, in small groups, five yards apart, we walked round the small courtyard for a half hour. Once a week the yard became the scene of a veritable dance of death where skeletons stood trembling in line. When we had been stripped of our clothes we were led off one by one to a cold shower. Some of us, exhausted, fainted from the shock. I shall never forget those spent bodies, those glittering eyes and tortured faces. On the way back to our cells we would try to talk, but a single word brought down a shower of blows. Often for no reason at all the guard threw us back in our cells with a kick and the door banged behind us. Then we felt like killing, like madmen we beat on those closed doors which opened only for blows and torment.

At eight in the morning we were given coffee, at one o'clock soup, at six a leaf of cabbage floating on clear water was shoved through the wicket. At eight o'clock the lights went out.

The Germans filled our days with suffering; they devoted themselves to new ways to increase our wretchedness. One day a non-commissioned German officer told me that my mother was in the fort too. By hanging from my bars (hoisting myself I don't know how to my one small hole of a window) I managed to see my mother in the yard at the time for her walk. I whistled as I used to do at home, she raised her head, cried out. Thereupon two policemen rushed into my cell, beat me up, took away my mattress and threatened to kill me. In the courtyard the following day the order making hostages of us was read aloud.

Later on that day I was taken from my room and brought to headquarters. There, in front of my mother I was beaten so badly that she fell to the floor in a faint. The next day we were brought together again. In her face I could see her determination never to give in. Once I was in the room they beat her until she was almost naked. I can still see her on the floor, moaning at each blow; I can still hear the crash of the boots against her body. Then maddened and screaming, I hurled myself at one of the policemen.

They handcuffed me and took me out.

I never confessed. And I never stopped thinking, planning, working toward my escape. I earned my freedom. And after weeks I achieved it.

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BELGIUM

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The Silencing of the Bells

THE animosity and hatred of the people of Belgium toward the Germans has been precipitated and crystallized chiefly by two crimes perpetrated during the occupation: by the requisitioning of workmen and the removal of the bells of the country.

There isn't a city or a town where patriots have not demonstrated the anger aroused by this deportation or complete sympathy for the men and women torn from their homes and forced to serve the Reich's war machine. Everywhere magnificent examples of national solidarity have been and continue to be set. It is too early to start talking about them, to divulge facts which might hinder saboteurs from carrying on their patriotic task. But the various hostile acts which accompanied the removal of the bells can be related.

●

At the time of the reading of the pastoral letter last March a number of curates, wishing to lay emphasis on the gravity of the hour, ordered their sexton to sound the funeral knell while the letter was being read from the pulpit. It was a stirring protest, symbolic of the mourning which was to darken the country.

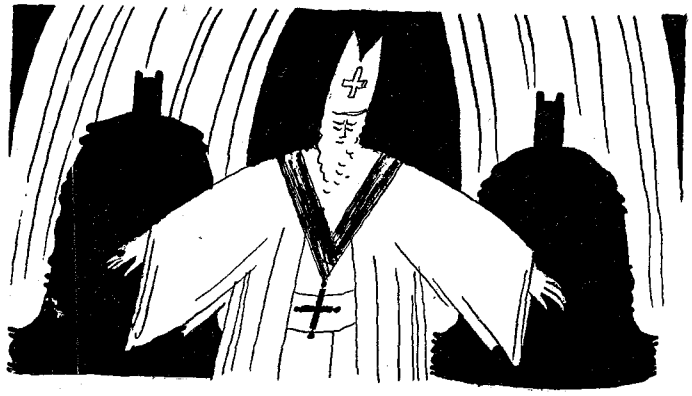
From the bishop down to the modest village curate the instructions not to collaborate were magnificently observed. When summoned by the Germans to declare which of the bells in his cathedral were of the greatest historic value His Grace, Bishop Delmotte, Bishop of Tournai, dryly replied, "Historic or not, the crime is the same. I have nothing to say." His Grace, Bishop Kerkhofs, Bishop of the city of Liège, the Ardent City whose old bells have been silent for some months past, would not surrender the keys to the tower of St. Paul's Cathedral. The parochial clergy of Opwijck, of Notre-Dame-in-the-Woods, of Notre-Dame at Herstal – and leave out some I must—refused access to their towers.

But the clergy did not stand alone, for the people too did their utmost to protest these sacrilegious thefts. At Beringen, Bruges, Gand and Hofstade, at Mol and Visé the parishioners took turns in sounding the knell. Elsewhere the contractors had to work in the midst of the outcries of the townspeople—sometimes, as at St. Anthony's Church in Liège, under such a hail of stones that they have had to beg protection from the German mounted police. Even then, after the bells have been dismantled and lowered from their towers, they have been covered with flowers, someone has managed to write a "V" on the truck bearing them off, and their departure has been accompanied by the singing of the "Brabançonne" or of "Vers l'avenir." At Saint Ghislain in Mons and Saint-Gervais in Namur the bells have been photographed, and these pictures are now being sold for the purchase of Victory Bells.

●

The Germans are stealing our bells and they are being carried off to Hamburg at an accelerated rhythm. Out of a total of 3,523 parochial churches 1,326 are bereft of their bells and the thefts have continued to mount. The only churches which escaped this violation were those in the province of Luxembourg.

Steeped in twenty centuries of Christian civilization it is not surprising that the people have reacted violently to the odious character of this spoliation. The generosity of the faithful purchased these bells whose grave and joyous chants have for so long been part of every act of life, part now of the very being of the people. In our prayers we of Belgium ask that time move swiftly to rob the vandals of their chance to finish their sacrilage.—Excerpt from *La Libre Belgique*.



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RUSSIA

•

Avengers in the Catacombs

A MAN extraordinarily small in size and strangely rigged out in a worn sailor's jacket and a pair of huge green pants guided us along a narrow path toward a ravine. Shaken often with fits of coughing he would open his mouth each time and eagerly gulp the air like a fish tossed back on the shore. "This cough afflicts every one who has taken to the underground caverns of Odessa," he explained. "There is no cure, the dampness gets into your bones."

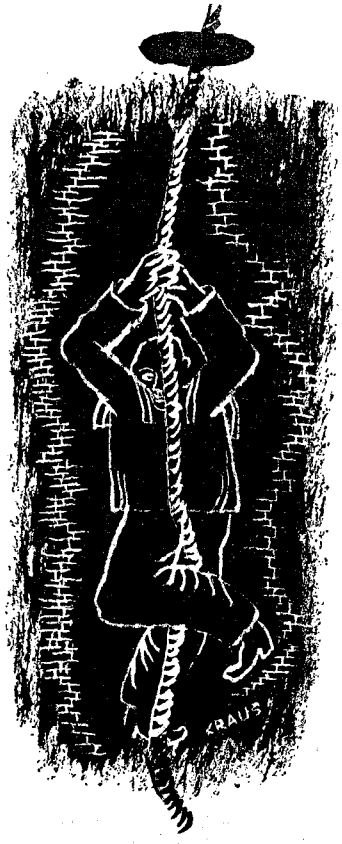
We followed him cautiously until, suddenly, he stopped and said in a low tone; "Here we are. There, can you see the hole under the ledge? It's the entrance to our underground kingdom. Be careful now, the opening can't be seen. Hang on the rope. It's our only way down.'

The day before the chief of the partisan detachment had told us, "You couldn't find a better man, he knows every stone. More than once he has saved us from breaking legs or falling over cliffs. Without him we'd be lost."

Savelitch—such was the name of our guide—really had the reconnaissance eye, sharp, penetrating and certain. Nimbly he disappeared beneath the ledge and from the hiding place called back, "Slip in here behind me. Don't be afraid. Shut your eyes for a second. You'll get used to the darkness."

Hanging on the knotted rope, we scrambled down. The passage was damp and black. Water gurgled down the walls. Savelitch was talking excitedly trying to tell us what he and his comrades had been through.

"When we set Odessa free," he said, "we found a stack of secret documents in the house of the Romanian Governor-general. Among them was a letter from the Governor of Cernauti to his Odessa colleague. This governor described the difficulty he had in trying to put down the constant disorders which he had to face in the province of Bukovina on the slopes of the Carpathian mountains. He ended his letter with these words: 'I envy you. You have no forests in which the Partisans can hide. Perhaps you can enjoy some rest and quiet.' We don't know what the Governor-general replied, but we do know that during all the years of occupations, Odessa has been like a city on a volcano. She has never laid down her arms, and many a time her streets have run with the blood of her sons. People have been seized in the streets and herded out of town where mass murders took place. The Romanians imagined that executions could break the morale of the inhabitants. But in vain. The enemy entered the city on October 16, 1941. A few days later a terrific explosion shook the town. The houses where Romanian and German officers and generals had gathered to celebrate the conquest were blown to bits. The explosion occurred at the precise moment when the Governor of Odessa raised his glass to 'Odessa, the Romanian city.'"



The Partisans accepted the challenge of the invaders and the whole town talked of the catacombs and of the avengers hidden there. With hope, with love, people told stories of the caverns and their secret passages. In terror, the Romanian authorities whispered the word, "the catacombs!" Anyone who has been to Odessa has heard of the underground corridors which run for miles in all directions. Once they were quarried for stone, now they've

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been put to inestimable use by the Partisans who refused to surrender.

The Romanians posted notices all over the city offering rewards for information leading to the arrest of the "outlaws." Fantastic amounts were promised to whomever would reveal the hidden entrances to the catacombs. No one came forward. In time, the Partisans found a way to the harbor. They reestablished contact with the workers and secured arms and ammunition.

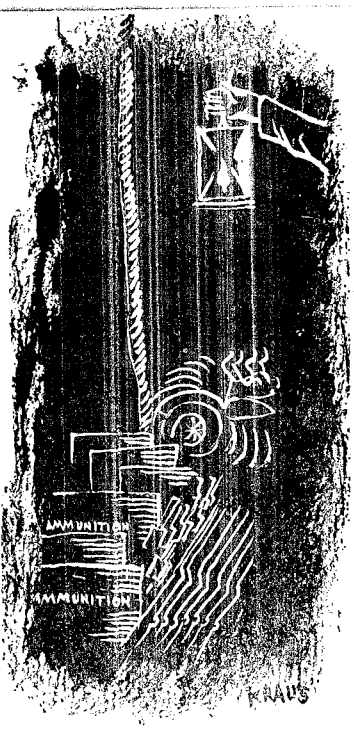
"Here an inexperienced man would soon get lost," said Savelitch, "but I know all the corners. My father worked the quarry, and as a kid I used to bring him his lunch. I know the marks on the walls. I can get along in the pitch darkness."

A voice suddenly echoed in the passage ahead, "Who's there?"

"You scared me!" answered Savelitch. "We completely forgot you."

"Where is the detachment?" asked the sentry, taken aback.

"My dear fellow, up on top. Things are happening in town. Everybody is shouting with joy. The Romanians and Germans have cleared out. Faleev! Now you can say goodbye to 'Little Odessa' of the underground."



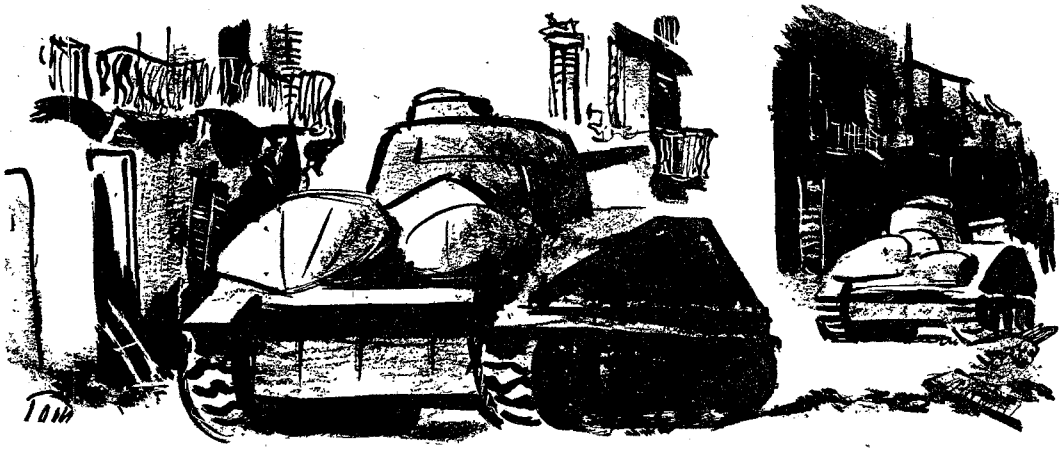
Faleev lit a big lantern and we could at last see where we were. On the straw near the wall some anti-tank and machine guns were laid out. Large cases of ammunition, new rifles and grenades were stacked in the corner. Several motorcycles were visible.

The Partisans were a daring lot. They had won over soldiers and officers from the Slovak occupation troops to their side. Their number increased daily. "Little Odessa," as the catacombs were called, became a force to be reckoned with. Armed detachments of young workers headed by sailors made sudden raids on the local garrison. Small bands of Partisans stole through the streets at night distributing leaflets, silencing sentries and terrorizing the police. Their hidden press was run by one Volodia Bulsiev, a typographer on the Moscow paper *Pravda* before the war.

Savelitch the guide exclaimed, "Here was our barber shop, there we had our theatre. Look at our hall, it's big enough for three hundred people. We celebrated the May Day here listening to the Moscow radio. That was only a year ago."

During the last days of the occupations the Partisans had been busy indeed. The day before the liberation they attacked a house where a group of policemen had gathered. Several policemen were killed, others taken prisoners. By the next morning the inhabitants of the district found not a policeman on the streets. We toured the damp subterranean galleries for hours. We saw no one, but a few days before the place had been seething with struggle and life. Today the loyal Partisans have returned once more to the streets of Odessa above the ground, to the beautiful streets flooded with sunshine. They have won. They are free.

V. Liaskowski



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No. 1 POSTWAR PROBLEM

Rebuilding World Economy

by

ANTONIN BASCH

THE remaking of world economy into an instrument for a durable peace heads the list of major tasks that will confront postwar leadership. Even before the cities of Europe rise from the rubble to which many of them have been reduced, means must be found to facilitate the flow of trade, the exchange of raw materials and commodities, on which the lives of hundreds of millions of people in every portion of the globe depend.

The disintegration of the world economy before the outbreak of the present war was at least a symptom of unhealthy and dangerous conditions. The economy of the European continent was hampered by a variety of trade barriers. These were highest in Central and Eastern Europe. Though European countries should have known that they had nothing to gain from extreme economic nationalism, many of them pursued a policy of autarchy in Europe that resulted in progressive poverty.

The war has caused a new vast dislocation of production including an increase of production of food and raw materials, and a new large-scale industrialization outside Europe. Both will be factors important to consider in the readjustment of world economy.

The Nazis expanded high cost agricultural production throughout the European continent. At the same time they established many factories for "ersatz" manufactures, thus increasing the cost cleavage between the European and the world economies. It will be an urgent but difficult postwar task to re-integrate this European economy into that of the world, restoring the Continent to a place that will enable it to maintain and if possible improve the prewar standard of living of its peoples. A workable international economy requires a durable peace. But peace will not last long unless the economic structure of the nations is well and firmly built.

Laissez-faire will not accomplish the desired integration. Any plan for restoration of international economy must stem from the broadest international cooperation and planning. The United Nations have already accepted some principal objectives for such a policy; these were restated strongly by the last International Labor Conference in Philadelphia. There is no doubt that only a general expansion of production and trade can help to overcome the log jam that existed in world economy before the war.

A world of equal trading opportunity for all must be created, in order to mobilize the economic resources of the world for the betterment of all nations. In the long run, all countries have an interest in directing their economy to mutual welfare rather than to preparations for defense against aggression.

The expansion of world trade is the safest way to improve universal standards

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of living. It will help to develop the backward areas, narrowing the great existing differences among the nations. A proper distribution of world production, development of the backward countries, and a raising of the levels of subsistence of large masses of mankind should be major goals of postwar economic policy.

What should be the place of European economy in this new world structure? It must be remembered that Europe is more dependent on an international exchange of commodities than are other parts of the world. Even in 1938 its share in world imports amounted to 56 per cent, its exports to 46 per cent. The balance was met from such sources as the revenue from European overseas investments. England's and the Continent's combined share of world trade was 51 per cent, that of continental Europe alone 38 per cent. In other words, the value of Europe's trade was about equal to the total trade of the rest of the globe.

Meanwhile industrial Europe depended largely on other parts of the world for its primary products. The ten industrial countries of Europe bought 51 per cent of their imports from other continents. Europe's agricultural regions provided foodstuffs amounting to less than a quarter of industrial Europe's net imports of foodstuffs, and these agricultural areas were themselves importers of raw materials.

The World's Workshop

EUROPE was called "the world's workshop." It imported mainly primary products. In the industrial sections, nearly 80 per cent of the total imports consisted of food and raw materials, while nearly two-thirds of the total exports were manufactured articles. Continental Europe was economically divided into two parts: the advanced, wealthy, industrial states, and the backward, undeveloped Eastern and Southeastern areas. Thus its eighteen agricultural countries accounted for only 17 per cent of the Continent's aggregate imports, only 19 per cent of its aggregate exports.

The Continent of Europe itself was not integrated economically, as shown in the vast differences in national income per head. Expressed in international units, real income per head of the gainfully occupied population for the 1925-1934 period was: Germany 646, France 684, Poland 352, Hungary 350, Bulgaria 248, Denmark 680, Belgium 600.

Analysis of the economic structure of Europe brings us to the conclusion that it can provide employment and maintain the standard of living of its population only if it becomes again a part of the international economy. It still has room to improve the utilization of its natural resources and to develop its backward areas. But the main emphasis must be on its trade with the other continents, with Soviet Russia and with the United Kingdom.

Europe's comparative advantage lies mainly in its abundant skilled labor and in its old trade experience. These enable it to produce goods and to perform all kinds of services for other parts of the world. Its two postwar problems complement each other. The first is to adjust its economy to international division of production and integrate it with world economy. This can be accomplished if the policy of expanded world trade, following the principle of comparative advantage, is generally accepted. The second problem is to work for a better integration of the continental economy itself.

To achieve the first and to use her comparative advantage, Europe should concentrate more on export of goods requiring highly skilled labor, rather than attempt to compete in goods produced on the assembly line, where the advantage will be with the United States.

The development of spheres of economic influence would split Europe and would hardly be a desirable policy. Nevertheless, we already see indications that the Western industrialized nations may join Great Britain. Proposals even include Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and perhaps France in the British economic sphere. Likewise, the opinion has been advanced that Soviet Russia will expand its economic sphere in Eastern Europe. Such a policy would lead to the establishment of two big blocs with all the political dangers involved in such a course. Certainly it would not lead to integration of the European continent or to restoration of world economy.

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Continental economy should be viewed as a whole. Its great dependence on international trade must be fully evaluated. According to some opinion the creation of a European economic federation might be the easier solution. There are certain economic advantages of a "big space" economy. But it is unrealistic to assume the possibility of achieving such a federation. And though if established it would favor trade expansion, it would probably also help perpetuate policies of "protection" in trade, to say nothing of the political hazards. Moreover such a federation still would be confronted with the fundamental problems of getting needed supplies of a great variety of goods for a continent where 17 per cent of the world's population occupy less than 4 per cent of the land area of the globe.

Europe Must Help Plan

WHETHER the European continent, may continue to be the world's workshop, will depend on Europe itself as well as on the trade policies of all leading world powers.

In order to perform its role Europe needs a high degree of economic adjustment and integration, especially in view of its economic policy since the thirties. The task of rebuilding its economy offers a good opportunity to achieve both. Special attention must be given to agriculture, where adjustment is usually more difficult than in industry.

The Food Conference of 1943 in Hot Springs outlined a good program for rebuilding agriculture. Its principal aim is simple—to provide better food and more of it, following the laws of modern nutrition. Translated into the field of economics this could lead to a desirable transformation of European agriculture.

However, it would be necessary to abandon high cost production in a great part of Europe, while at the same time reducing excessive protection. Then the agricultural areas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe could increase and intensify their production to satisfy markets in the industrialized sections as well as to provide for increased consumption at home.

The high cost producing areas would turn to the more specialized production of protective food, as Denmark and the Netherlands have been doing for several decades. This would allow a larger continental market for the agricultural products of the retarded regions, and even for the import of cereals from overseas. Such a development would bring about a greater economic integration of Europe. It would of course require a radical change of the policy of food self-sufficiency flourishing during the last decade. The establishment of a firm policy of international security might induce the countries to reverse this trend. But they would have to be reasonably sure that they would be able to pay for their imports within the framework of an expanding world trade.

The decisions taken with regard to Germany's future will be of great importance for the European economic situation. Having import surplus with the rest of the world, Germany had an export surplus with continental Europe and Great Britain. Partly out of this surplus with Western and Northern Europe she met her balance in trade with the other continents.

Before Hitler, Germany disposed of 60 per cent of her total exports (almost 80 per cent of her exports to Europe) in Europe's industrialized countries and Scandinavia. The same countries provided 38 per cent of the German imports. Even in 1938 during her policy of autarchy Germany was still the greatest trading nation of the European continent with 54 per cent of her total imports originating in Europe. In 1938 the total value of Germany's foreign trade amounted to $4,312 million compared with the $2,201 million total value of French foreign trade.

In outlining an economic program for Europe we must keep in mind how such a program will be affected by developments in Germany. There is general agreement that in order to make new aggression impossible Germany's industrial potential must be weakened, especially in certain industries. The abandonment of the policy of self-sufficiency in food would be a step in the same direction. Yet we have to remember that Germany's economic weakening does not automatically mean an economic strengthening of the other countries. Means must be found to offset any reduc-

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tion of Germany's purchasing power by an increase in the purchasing power of other European nations.

Industrialization of the retarded regions of the Continent may help provide a substitute market for the expected decline of Germany's imports. Political necessities will doubtless have to have priority in settling the German question; yet the economic interrelations between Germany and the rest of Europe should not be left out of the picture.

Europe will require foreign financial assistance when the war is over, some countries more than others. The retarded regions especially will want long term reconstruction loans to enable them to build a new progressive economy. Still, we should not overestimate the Continent's foreign credit needs, for modern economy possesses a great recuperative power. We can assume that European economy, once put back to work, will be able to produce much for its own consumption, and to export goods in exchange for commodities from other continents, provided there is a market for such goods. Thus the question of loans is again tied up with the program of expansion of international trade.

Reduce Trade Barriers

IT is clear that simultaneously with a comprehensive international program, a plan must be formulated for Europe itself. The European nations must accept the idea of reducing their trade barriers. They should do their utmost to expand intra-European trade and to utilize reserves of European consuming power, which are particularly great in Central and Eastern Europe. Economic rapprochement between the nations should be encouraged as a stimulus to trade expansion, but should not be coupled with increased protection.

In the past Great Britain provided the most important market for the continent. Even in 1938 it bought nearly one-third of its total imports there, as against two-fifths in 1928, giving the European countries an export surplus of about $500 million. The better part of this went into the continent's overseas purchases. The British market was extremely valuable for all European countries, and the surplus in trade with Great Britain was for many countries a balancing item in their balance of payments. In postwar European economy much will depend on the economic situation and policy of Great Britain. Will she be able to continue her purchases from Europe as before the war, and will she have a sizable import surplus with Europe? Here again the problem of the European economy becomes a part of the economic development of the world.

If the reduced purchasing power of Germany and a weaker economic position for Great Britain are to be assumed as part of the postwar picture, then Europe may have to look further for the markets she requires to balance her economy. Undoubtedly there will be possibilities for an extensive exchange of commodities between the Soviet Union and the industrialized countries of Europe particularly.

If Soviet Russia joins in general trade expansion and international division of production, becoming a regular buyer of all kinds of foreign goods, this alone can energize the economic life of the whole continent, with far-reaching effects on the economy of the world. Her great need in capital goods is obvious, and perhaps she will be willing and able to increase substantially her import of consumer goods. She will soon be in a position to supply the Continent with such raw materials as oil, manganese, ores, minerals, furs, hides, timber, flax and even phosphates. Her increased gold reserve and gold production will permit her to pay in gold for the expected import surplus.

The new economic development of the Near East may also lead to a new more intensive European trade with this area. But trade with the other continents will rank first in importance. The rest of the world bought two-fifths of the total export of the industrialized countries of Europe before the war while delivering 46 per cent of her total import. This again illustrates Europe's importance as a market for other continents. Without the reestablishment and growth of this trade the Continent cannot hope soon to attain economic stabilization. Its welfare, its very existence is closely tied up with a working and expanding world economy.

The expansion of the total world economy and world trade is the necessary instru-

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ment for achieving consolidation of international economic relations. This is now generally recognized by statesmen as well as by the business world and the economists. It is desirable that the big powers seize the initiative before the end of the war, and that they agree upon such a program of expansion. The United States is best qualified by its position to lead this action.

Prerequisites for such an economic program are:

1. Political security.
2. Renunciation of the policy of self-sufficiency.
3. An international program of trade expansion.

Basis of Confidence

THE FIRST would give the basis of confidence necessary for an intensified and growing international trade. The proposed political organization of the United Nations should be a proper step in this direction. Renunciation of the policy of self-sufficiency and a substantial multilateral reduction of trade barriers would create a trend toward international division of production. An agreement to this intent among the United Nations initiated and led by the United States and Great Britain, and shared by Soviet Russia, would be of major significance.

Preparations for establishing an international monetary organization to promote international trade have reached an advanced stage. The United Nations Conference, meeting in July, will discuss the Joint Statement by Experts on the Establishment of an International Monetary Fund and also the United States Treasury proposal to establish a Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

An International Stabilization Fund may begin to operate even before the end of the war. Yet it is clear that no international monetary organization can meet expectations unless foreign trade policies enable the nations to arrive at economic equilibrium within an expanding world economy. These problems are closely interrelated. The monetary conference should be followed by an international trade conference to consider methods of removing trade barriers, and to decide on practical measures which ought to be undertaken immediately.

Such a conference might win acceptance for the principle of equality of trading opportunity, for the outline of a binding program of successive reduction of custom tariffs, and for a commitment not to resort again to a bilateral trade basis and quantitative control of trade—except during the transitory postwar period. These would be real achievements, easier to attain now than even a few years after the war.

The fact that the Soviet Union has a foreign trade monopoly or that other countries may have systems of foreign trade differing from those of the United States and Great Britain is not an insuperable obstacle to international trade expansion. What matters is the intention to adhere to such a program and a belief in the advantage of economic cooperation and division of production. If this basic condition exists, an agreement can be worked out which would apply even to countries where the government has a foreign trade monopoly.

An international trade agency should be created and entrusted with the task of promoting trade and removing barriers. Such an agency could not limit sovereign nations in their trade policies but it could exert powerful influence. It could carry out various international multilateral conventions, supervise them, and above all closely chart the obstacles to expanding trade and reasons for trade decline, issuing timely warnings against inappropriate measures. Its role would be similar to that which the International Labor Office intends to perform in all problems related to employment. Obviously, a close cooperation of all international economic organizations will have to be maintained.

An international program of trade expansion is especially vital to Europe's welfare because of the continent's dependence on its trade relations. Its economy would be strengthened by integration with that of the world. But this would necessitate reduction of trade barriers and of economic nationalism within Europe. Such a program is not likely to be adopted on the continent unless it is the accepted policy throughout important world areas. Only when European nations are sure that they will not meet all kinds of trade obstacles abroad will they be able to establish freer trade and ad-

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just their production to that of other continents. It is obvious that they could not import a larger volume of food, raw material, or American industrial commodities if they were unable to sell European products abroad.

The fact that many countries outside Europe have expanded their industrial production will make readjustment necessary in some prewar export lines. The loss could be counterbalanced by increased export of other products.

United States Leads

ONCE the intention of expanding trade is established there will always be goods to be traded. By now it is clear to everybody that the world is awaiting the policy of the United States. This nation's course will determine world trade policy for years to come.

It is equally clear that in the United States, assuming a high level of employment, there will be a large demand for all kinds of foreign manufactured goods, mostly from Europe. Such imports will not impede American domestic employment. The importance of imports to the maintenance of high employment and export in the United States cannot be overemphasized.

In the era of airplane, radio and television, not only does news travel fast but people everywhere are made aware of better living possibilities and will demand them. There will be an equalizing tendency of the standards of living not only within a nation but also among nations. It is up to major powers to direct this into channels of increased world production and trade.

The international economy, disintegrated even before 1939, must be revived if we are to attain a long period of peace. Within this framework the European economic problem is just one important segment of the problems of world economy, and should be treated as such. The war has taught us that the peace and prosperity of Europe is vital to the peace and prosperity of other parts of the world, and that international economic integration is a greater peace factor than many people would believe.

British Labor's Record

THE record of British labor in this war is far superior to its record in the last war, according to figures made public by the London Economist. The gain is attributed not only to the fact that the war has come closer to Britain's civilian population, but also, and primarily, to the cooperation of the trade unions in production problems, and to arbitration as a factor in maintaining industrial peace.

During four years of World War I, from August, 1914 to August, 1918, 15,542,000 working days were lost in Britain through work stoppages. Nearly half the disputes occurred in 1917-18. During the four years of World War II ending in August, 1943, only 4,761,000 working days were lost, or less than a third of the World War figure.

Spread over the whole of Britain's war industry, the amount of work stoppage due to strikes in the present war amounts to less than half a day per worker.

Arbitration, in wartime, is compulsory in Britain. This is a reversal of peacetime tradition and practice, which has always been opposed to compulsory arbitration, but which had provided for the voluntary submission of disputes to arbitration, with a wide range of conciliation machinery.

In the last war arbitration became compulsory in 1915 under the Munitions Act. In this war a similar course has been pursued. A National Arbitration Tribunal was appointed by the Minister of Labor in 1940, and since then has heard over 500 cases, the majority of which were submitted by the workers.

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When Our Boys Come Home...

PEACE MUST MEAN SECURITY

by

PHILIP MURRAY

President of the Congress of Industrial Organization

THERE has never before in the history of this country been a situation such as we are now heading into. We can see ahead of us, whenever Germany is knocked out of the war, a reduction of at least 50 per cent in our war production program. Overnight an annual rate of government spending of $100 billion will be halved. And whenever the Japanese war ends, that sum drops another $40 billion.

The effect of that withdrawal of government spending upon the industrial and distributive system of our country is incalculable. But we know that its effect must be profound.

Whether or not they soon find jobs, 20 million war workers are going to shift employment during this period. In shipbuilding, aircraft and munitions manufacture, and other industrial lines, there will be no further work in many plants for these workers. And in the peacetime plants which have converted to war there will be a waiting period, for example in the auto plants, while reconversion takes place. But more important, probably, will be the withdrawal of government orders, and the question of what orders will take their place.

These are the questions which confront the leaders of organized labor at the very moment when our boys are opening the "second front" in Normandy. I say "our boys" advisedly; labor is backing up all our boys and girls in the services, but from the ranks of the CIO alone there are over 1,250,000 now in the armed forces. When the servicemen and women return, many of them will be expecting work alongside us in the plants we have organized, and we want it to be there for them.

There will be more than 11,000,000 returning veterans of this war. It is clear that even the current levels of employment generated by the war will not employ all those now in the services plus those now gainfully employed in the United States who will want to continue to work after the war. There must be plans for the development of far more jobs than are offered today. Subtract all those who are anxious to return to the role of housewife or student, or to the retirement of the over-aged, and there are still in the neighborhood of 10 million more people to be employed than were ever included in our work force before 1939.

Meanwhile, our productive capacity has been enlarged more rapidly than ever before in American history. We have more new machine tools produced during the war than were produced in the preceding 15 years of peace, and many of the *new* tools are already obsolete because of the latest developments in electronics. In addi-

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tion to the quantitative increases in productive equipment, there have been qualitative improvements of an unprecedented kind.

We are faced, moreover, with huge piles of surplus stocks of goods of various kinds. Trucks, jeeps, typewriters, blankets, cots, underwear, ships, planes, tools of all kinds, and all the housekeeping equipment of an army hang over the markets.

This is the picture for the United States. And our situation here at home is a comparatively clear and simple picture by contrast with the scene abroad. There is hardly another country in the world which can face the future with our assurance. Indeed, this is particularly true because what happens to them depends so much upon what happens to us. If we solve our problems, we shall go a long way to resolve theirs, as anyone can see by considering what happened to the rest of the world when we turned our back on them after the First World War. Or what happened to them after our 1929 crash.

Recovery . . . An Uncharted Sea

IN this uncharted world situation, there are the occupied countries, and the areas devastated by actual ground warfare or aerial bombing. Then there are the countries and areas affected indirectly by actual combat but dislocated in their economic activities by blockade, artificial war demands, and other war disturbances. Almost no area on the entire globe has escaped the ravages of this war. It is unthinkable that this recovery can be smooth and uneventful.

It is certain, however, that what happens in the transition from war to peace can be made bearable or unbearable depending upon whether we in this country fail to act, or act and act wisely right here and now. The decisions which will determine the shape of the transition period are being taken here and now.

No proposals for "back-to-normalcy" bear any relation to fact. In the first place, normalcy at 1939 levels in this country means depression. But in the second place, even if we wanted to go back to 1939, we cannot, because all the foundations have been removed by the war. Millions of new workers have been permanently drawn into the labor market. Millions of workers have acquired new skills and intend to use them. Millions have been shaken up by service in the armed forces and intend to follow a new path.

For these reasons, and because of the demobilization problems I outlined at the start, there is no sense in talking about going *back* in any way. We can go forward to a new and better way of living, or we can go forward into a period of deep and, I fear, uncontrollable depression here at home. For my part, I don't believe that organized labor and other groups in the community are prepared to let matters come to such a pass. And I am glad to see that certain groups in American business agree with us.

Organized labor has a particularly important role in the days ahead, both at home and abroad. Labor believes in production for better living. We know now, because of the remarkable record of war production, what we had long suspected: that here in the United States we have licked the problem of production of abundance. And we propose now to solve the problem of distributing abundance.

We believe that the next step is to decide what we can produce, item by item, and set out a program which estimates how much of these various items the American people think they need and want, and then start off to produce and distribute those goods.

As a first step in that direction labor has developed two lines which it proposes to follow, one economic and one political. The economic line is one in which labor is particularly experienced, that of collective bargaining. The political line is one in which labor is just cutting its eye teeth, and labor knows that it is only one of the number of partners in a cooperative endeavor.

Labor in the United States today, and here I speak especially for the CIO, although my remarks apply to the rest of labor in greater or less degree, is more highly organized and better disciplined than ever before in our history. We have shown that by our remarkable production record, and by the way in which we have lived up to our no-strike pledge. We made that pledge just after Pearl Harbor, and we have kept it in spite of the most continuous provocation, and the most inter-

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minable delays in settling grievances on the job.

The United Steelworkers of America have taken the lead in the economic line which we are now following in the CIO, and other great industrial unions—among them the automobile, aircraft and electrical workers and others—are vigorously supporting the same program. We have pointed out that workers' current weekly incomes are merely temporary, and that cutbacks will mean heavy cuts in pay envelopes. But we have also shown, for example by our study, *"The Steelworkers—1943,"* that our members are not getting rich on the war, but instead are actually, among our average workers, going into debt slightly each week in order to pay war taxes and buy war bonds and keep up with current living costs. These are not guesses, but scientifically prepared studies of accurate samples of our membership.

Economic Bill of Rights

OUR demands are now being considered by the War Labor Board. They have a significance out of all proportion to the question of whether a single union shall be granted a wage increase, important as that may be in the lives of our members. These demands are part of the fight in which President Roosevelt enlisted the whole American people recently when he stated his new "Economic Bill of Rights." In other words, it is impossible to run a modern economy in peacetime unless we distribute the abundance of which this economy is capable.

We have already laid the foundation for the meeting of our wage demands by the increased productivity which we created during the war. In plant after plant our members have demonstrated how to produce from one-third to one-half more steel with the same number of workers. In exchange for those increased tons of steel we are asking a better living for our membership.

To stabilize these living standards during and after the war, we are proposing the establishment of a guaranteed weekly and annual wage so that steelworkers, and all the inhabitants of the communities in which they live may have a floor placed under their standard of living, and may be able to plan ahead from day to day and month to month, and even from year to year. This calls for a program of stabilized operation of the steel industry on a high level of activity.

If this could become a universal pattern, there would need to be only a minimum of social security provided by Federal, State or local action. Some day, it will be that way. But just now we face the greatest mass migration of our history, for the movement of the period since 1939 will probably be reversed and telescoped from years into months, when demobilization gets well under way.

To cushion this new period of uncertainty, the CIO is advocating the passage of emergency social security legislation for both ex-servicemen and civilians. This legislation includes provision for unemployment compensation, to be Federally underwritten so that benefits may be adequate, both in amount and duration, and in the numbers of people covered. We also ask for funds for moving workers and their families back to centers of job opportunity, and we ask for funds to retrain both civilians and veterans for the tasks of peace ahead of us.

Above and beyond these palliatives for a bad period ahead, which will be difficult at best and tragic at worst, labor has joined with other groups in the community in supporting legislation to launch a cooperative undertaking. I refer to the Kilgore bill, which creates for the first time a joint Board of Production and Employment, representative of industry, labor and agriculture, charged with the continuous, daily scrutiny of our plans and programs for the transition from war to peace. This board, and a Bureau of Programs to be set up to work jointly with the board and the Office of War Mobilization and Post-War Adjustment, are intended to give a focal point for all the efforts of those in the community who want to see an expanding economy maintained and encouraged now and after the war.

Political Education of Workers

ECONOMICALLY, labor is prepared to lend leadership, but politically labor proposes to act as only one partner in a cooperative endeavor. We are now engaged in an effort to educate and arouse our membership and the communities in which they

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live to the importance of exercising our democratic rights to register and vote for the candidates of our individual choice. We believe that out of this political education will come a new awareness of the intimate relation between political and economic matters. Gains which we make by collective bargaining are too often taken away from us by the acts of politicians unmindful of the needs of the whole community.

The CIO has also begun to take a leading part in the problems of organized labor throughout the world, and finds itself drawn inevitably into a concern for the type of peace settlement which is already in process of preparation. We have accepted an invitation to the London Conference, temporarily postponed on account of the invasion, and we look forward eagerly to the day when that conference may be held as the first of a series of free conventions of the organized workers of all countries.

In this brief compass I have tried to touch rapidly upon the chief points which we see as the human problems of reconversion. This will be a period fraught with dangers comparable to those of the war itself. It will require the same measure of self-control on the part of all groups in the community which the war has called forth. But there will not be the same obvious sanctions to bind us all together in a common effort. I foresee, therefore, that the representatives of organized labor and of all other groups in this and other countries who believe in an expanding economy must seize every occasion to present these problems as we see them, and to develop publicly to a wide audience the programs which we think may resolve the difficulties ahead.

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PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

A Major War Aim

by

Senator Claude D. Pepper

INFLEXIBLE determination to punish the war criminals has been expressed again and again by the leaders of the United Nations.

Even before the United States declared war, President Roosevelt voiced the deep indignation of his countrymen at the execution of innocent hostages by Nazi hangmen in France. Such crimes, he said, constituted a "ghastly warning" to those "who would collaborate with Hitler or try to appease him."

In January, 1942, at an Inter-Allied Conference in London, the governments of nine occupied countries became the signatories of a declaration in which they "place among their principal war aims the punishment, through the channel of organized justice, of those guilty of or responsible for these crimes, whether they have ordered them, perpetrated them or participated in them." The heads of the governments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China gave full support to this declaration.

"Retribution for these crimes must henceforward take its place among the major purposes of the war," Prime Minister Churchill declared. President Roosevelt promised that the time will come when the criminals "shall have to stand in courts of law in the very countries which they are now oppressing and answer for their acts."

To implement these statements, the President of the United States and the British Lord Chancellor simultaneously on October 7, 1942, pledged the cooperation of their respective countries in establishing a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes. At this time President Roosevelt made a specific proposal of great significance when he said, "I now declare it to be the intention of this Government that the successful close of the war shall include provision for the surrender to the United Nations of war criminals."

The United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes has been established; it has convened in London; it is making progress in collating evidence against the Fascist barbarians.

If further evidence is needed of the great importance attached by the United Nations to the punishment of war criminals, it can be found in the statement signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin following the Moscow conference. Speaking in the interests of thirty-two United Nations, the statement declares, "At the time of granting any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein."

It was further agreed that this declaration is "without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no

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particular geographical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies."

Record of War Crimes

THE Soviet Union has taken definite steps to give assurance that the war criminals will be punished. An extraordinary state commission was set up long ago to make a documented record as far as possible of every war crime and criminal on Russian territory. Three Nazis and a Quisling have already been tried and executed in the locality where their crimes were committed.

In response to a *note verbale* from the Inter-Allied Conference, the Soviet government declared to the world "once more" its determination "that the criminal Hitlerite government and all its accomplices must and shall suffer deserved, stern punishment for the crimes perpetrated against the peoples of the Soviet Union and against all freedom-loving peoples in territories temporarily occupied by the German Army and its accomplices." In this statement, Hitler, Goering, Hess, Goebbels, Himmler, Ribbentrop, and Rosenberg were named among those guilty of "bloody crimes" against innocent people. This leaves no doubt of the intent of the Soviet Union that the fascist leaders shall face the same charges and the same trial procedures as their more obscure hatchet men.

It is a source of great satisfaction to all of us that such unanimous determination to punish war criminals, and to make this a major war aim, has been shown by word and deed of the United Nations. There is every reason to believe that the fiasco following World War I will not be repeated. In spite of fine words in the Versailles Treaty (Articles 227-231) neither the German war leaders nor their accomplices in crime were brought to trial. They lived to join the architects of another and more gruesome assault upon the peace and freedom of the world.

Some of the lessons which apparently have been learned need to be pointed up:

Punishment of war criminals must be made a major war aim if the people of the world are to be convinced that we are truly fighting to sustain the principles of freedom and justice.

This decision must be reached early, and it must be implemented during the war period by organization to collect and collate evidence regarding crimes against the people of occupied countries and prisoners of war. Each United Nation must keep "a little list," well documented.

Surrender of war criminals most be provided for in the armistice terms. Without this, the meaning of unconditional surrender cannot be realized.

Punishment must be through the channels of organized justice. There must be no mass reprisals. Practically, the only guarantee against such reprisals is the utmost assurance that the criminals will be apprehended and tried and that the sentences will be carried out.

The criminals must be tried in the national courts of the countries in which their crimes were committed. The people of these countries must have first-hand knowledge that justice prevails. The United Nations are agreed that extradition shall be arranged for whenever necessary.

Equality of Punishment

HIGH and low among the criminals must be treated alike. They must stand trial for the same common crimes, they must be exposed to the same procedures, and they must suffer identical penalties for identical offenses. Precedent is ample for holding to account those who order war crimes as well as those who execute them. President Roosevelt, speaking for the United States, has specifically stated that "those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery" shall be held to account; also, that "their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries" shall take warning that they will not escape if they "knowingly take part in acts such as the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland, or Norwegian and French to their death in Germany. . . . All who share the guilt shall share the punishment."

The leaders will not escape responsibility for their crimes. Documentary evidence is accumulating in the United Nations to prove that the Nazi war leaders are responsible for countless foul crimes which contravene the conventions of war and the

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principles of humanity. There is not the slightest doubt that organized reigns of terror previously planned by the German Government and the German High Command have been deliberately instituted in the occupied countries.

Perhaps the most important lesson we have learned is this: We must not confuse crimes punishable by the civil laws of any democratic society with political acts and acts of war. We must insist that every war criminal, of high or low estate, be tried first for any crimes of violence against civilian populations or war prisoners of which he may be guilty. These crimes include extermination of racial groups, execution of innocent hostages in reprisal for isolated attacks upon the soldiery of the enemy; wholesale slaughter of civilians such as occurred in Lidice, Kharkov, and many other places; deportation of population to provide slave labor in the enemy country; incarceration of civilians in concentration camps; murder of fliers and other war prisoners; acts of violence against women and children; use of torture instruments; starvation of the population; and wanton theft and destruction of property.

These are the crimes for which Hitler, Tojo and their confreres up and down the line must be tried. They must be tried in a criminal court of the once occupied countries. They must be afforded no opportunity for histrionics, and they must be given no setting for their trials other than that accorded a common criminal.

It will be for the United Nations to agree among themselves as to which shall have the privilege of bringing the leaders to justice. Surely this will not be too difficult a decision.

Criminal Law Suffices

THE pitfall which must be avoided is that of relying upon an international machinery which does not exist to try the leading war criminals. It would probably be extremely difficult to draw up an indictment against Hitler which would satisfy authorities on international law. Furthermore international law provides no penalty for any crime of which Hitler might be found guilty. Let us, I repeat, deal promptly with all war criminals in criminal courts functioning in accordance with criminal law in the various allied countries.

I believe that questions relating to violations of international law, international agreements, and international treaties, had best be left for the deliberations of the United Nations after the world atmosphere has been improved by removal of Axis war criminals.

The trials of war criminals must take place promptly. The sentences must be promptly executed.

Neutrals must be warned by the United Nations that they will not be allowed to provide refuge for war criminals. International law and custom do not countenance the harboring of murderers or other common criminals who are fugitives from justice. If we charge the war leaders with these common crimes, no country will have the reason to shield them which the Netherlands had in protecting the Kaiser.

We must have further assurance that the United Nations together are taking the formal steps necessary for the realization of the purposes and procedures summarized here, which have already been agreed to informally. Such joint action must be taken soon, the sooner the better.

Let me appeal finally, as others have before me, for as forthright a point of view regarding the punishment of war criminals as that which has been expressed by the leaders of the United Nations. Let us not be drawn into a legalistic spinning of words and a belaboring of technicalities which will result in defeat of our purpose. Let us maintain our singleness of purpose until all war criminals have met common justice in the name of all humanity.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

THE nearer we come to the hour of the "Cease Fire"—and the invasion brings it nearer to our consciousness than any stage in the war has yet brought it—the more vital does the problem of unity become. It is clear that the enemy's one hope now lies where his power has lain in the past, in the relative ease with which he has been able to divide us, or rather to profit by those divisions which already in germ existed.

WHAT SACRIFICES TO GET UNITY?

The factors of division do not get less as we are all brought closer together. The more the world becomes one physically the more causes of division we are apt to discover. It is easier to quarrel with a man living in the same village than with one living on the other side of the earth. And what the annihilation of distance has done is to bring us all, to some extent, into the same village.

The one course in facing the problem of disunity which is bound to fail and to be disastrous, is to pretend that it does not exist, or that it is so little serious that exhortations to good will and brotherly love will suffice to meet it. Such measures will not suffice. The differences which exist in the thirty United Nations are often real and deep; they are frequently at one and the same time economic, political, psychological, ideological, religious, nationalist. If we face squarely the fact that such deep differences among the thirty partners do exist we may then come to recognize the price that we shall all have to pay for their solution. That price is a hard one: it is for each to surrender something of what he honestly believes himself entitled to—and which quite possibly he is. This need for each to make such sacrifice is, we shall surely recognize on taking thought, an absolutely indispensable condition of cooperation. For men are not infallible in their judgments (that proposition at least can pass without challenge!) and they are most likely to be fallible in asserting the claims of their nation. The man who went through life proclaiming in a loud voice at every opportunity; "Myself first of all. My interests are sacred. Myself, right or wrong," would soon be recognized for an anti-social savage. All would know that this attitude unfitted him for life in decent society. But if he says those things on behalf of his nation he is regarded, not as anti-social, but as a great patriot.

Compromise is to so many of us a hateful word. Yet without it there can be no freedom and no democracy. If all insisted on complete freedom none would be sure of any. Freedom itself is a compromise between those freedoms we are determined to keep and those we are willing to surrender in order that government and law can exist so as to defend any freedom at all. If in democracy—government by the consent of the governed—each individual or each party determined to resist every government that did not fully express his or its will, then, again obviously, there could be no government at all. At the election in November, the President, whoever he may be, will have been voted *against* by great sections of the country—possibly somewhere near a half. If each defeated party said: "We will not live under a government we detest, that does not represent our will," then, again obviously, that would be the end of democracy. The compromise by which great bodies of the citizenry live under governments they do not want alone makes

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democratic government able to function.

Yet these truths, so simple and so obvious, we commonly reject completely when we come to discuss our international relations. The spirit of compromise, the acceptance of half a loaf, the knowledge that fallible men are most fallible when they come to the judgment of their national interests and rights – because we reject these, there arise so easily those divisions and conflicts which provide the means by which the enemy may still defeat us.

NOR is it a matter purely of nationalism.

Those of us who have looked to the international organization of security as the one way out of the international anarchy which has produced two world wars in one generation, have heretofore regarded nationalism as the main enemy. For, as someone remarked the other day, the beautiful butterfly of nationality, as the Mazzinis and Garibaldis saw it, had by the twentieth century become too often a murderous and loathsome caterpillar. But events have recently taken a turn which is likely to prompt the question whether after all, nationalism, with all its evils, may not have its uses. Hugh Cecil once described nationality as a rough-and-ready way by which men expressed the truth that we are members one of another. Without this feeling on the part of the individual that human society makes a corporate body, there can be no society. It was the crime of Nazism and Fascism to turn this necessary cement of society into an evil idol called "the State" on behalf of which man must sacrifice his freedom, his decency, his soul.

Having recognized the evils of nationalism as the twentieth century has revealed them to us, we are likely thenceforth, as we approach the settlement, to recognize once more some of its virtues; as something indispensable even to internationalism itself, to any organization of an international society. That organization was hard enough when the world had to face the conflicting claims of a number of independent nations each claiming sovereignty. But today the conflict of one nation with another is added to and crossed by conflicts within each nation, so that the very first problem which any council or assembly of nations will confront is to discover, in the case of many nations, an answer to the question: "Who is the nation? Who represents it—what group, what party? Who can speak for it?"

One has only to consider the list. Poland. Do we agree that the government in London represents Poland? Russia refuses to recognize it. Is Poland then represented by the Union of Polish Patriots of Moscow, or by its successor, the Polish National Council? Very few in the West would accept that either as truly representative. So that we have here already several disagreements as to who can speak for Poland. There are the disagreements within the London government in exile; there is next the disagreement among the allies as to whether the government in exile should be accepted if and when, the differences within that government have been resolved. All of these differences would reappear if either a Moscow Union of Polish Patriots or a Polish National Council were accepted as the nucleus of a possible Polish government. There would be the inevitable disagreements between either government and the Polish population itself; between Poland as an entity when it came to present claims in connection with frontiers or the autonomy of its government—on one side as against Russia, on another as against Germany, particularly if the Russian suggestion of compensatory incorporation of East Prussia be accepted. If "Polish Nationalism" meant the claims, even intransigent and unreasonable, of a cohesive national bloc, agreed within itself as to what it was and what it wanted, such nationalism would present grave difficulties. But what we are confronted with now is a state of confusion, of incoherence, infinitely more difficult to resolve.

Nor is Poland the most confusing case. There are aspects of the Greek problem still more devastating and tragic; civil war within the war against the invader. So in different forms in Jugoslavia. Differences of another but not less serious type are presented by the conflicts within China, within France, within India, within Italy, while the governments of several American republics are governments produced by revolution or counter-revolution.

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THERE is a peculiar feature about these differences. They are not merely conflicts within a given state, as between its own parties. The conflict within one country —say Spain or France or Yugoslavia— creates bitter differences in other nations. Divisions in Italy or Greece become a source of division in America and Britain, and between America and Britain. American opinion blames Churchill for his attitude to Badoglio or Franco; some British opinion blames Roosevelt for his attitude to de Gaulle. There is an understandable but dangerous impatience and dogmatism among critics who are quite sure that X, Y or Z in some country on the other side of the world speaks for his people and ought to be accepted as so doing. Yet these same American critics who are so certain of parties in a nation on the other side of the world could not tell you whether the next election will reveal Roosevelt as representing this country or not.

In other words, would not a little less dogmatism and cocksureness make for that very tolerance and give-and-take, without which there can be no settlement?

AGAIN and again the great powers of the Allies have been warned against disregarding not merely the interests of the lesser states, but their self-respect and dignity. Particularly have Frenchmen warned both Britain and America in this respect. The corrective here, surely, is to go on reminding ourselves of the extent of our dependence on each other. It is a wonderful corrective of bad or insulting behavior toward a man to realize that your very existence depends on his good will. The truth at which we must hammer and hammer is that no nation on earth today —not even the very greatest—can defend itself by its own power. If the lesser states —little Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland—had all willingly submitted to the Hitlerian New Order, had bowed submissively to the Wave of the Future, if all of France had been Vichyite, what chance would there have been for British and American forces to reach Germany, or, having done so, to make a peace that would restrain German power? Unfortunately, it is no easy matter to bring home to a busy and preoccupied public the simple facts which reveal our dependence on each other, even the simple facts of geography and elementary strategy.

It is indeed, speaking broadly, an intellectual, one may say a physical, impossibility for the active, busy public of Main Street to absorb anything but a very small fraction of the multitude of facts relating to foreign affairs. The public throws on educators the problem of deciding which knowledge matters most.

The other day the Director of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University remarked that, from the number of books, articles, commentaries now appearing, one would get the impression that the whole American public is deeply concerned about foreign affairs. This impression, he remarked with tragic definiteness, is about ninety per cent wrong. He based his statement not on guesses, or mere observation, but on careful painstaking ascertainment of the actual knowledge possessed by the adult population of the United States. He gave precise statistics. The adults number ninety millions. How are the ninety divided in respect to knowledge of foreign affairs? Of the ninety, twenty-seven millions do not know that the Japanese have

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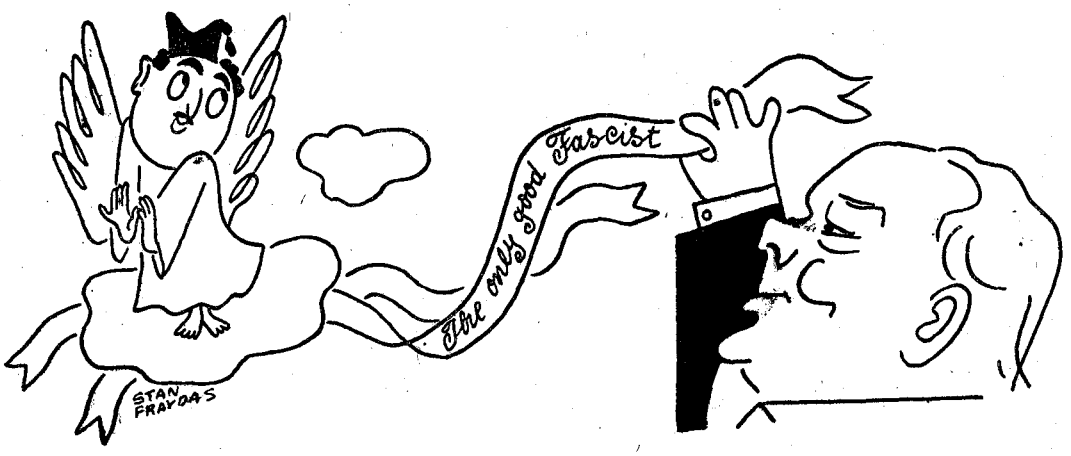
taken the Philippines. More than half of the country's adults are ignorant of the fact that this country did not join the League of Nations. When asked to name the United Nations, fifty-seven million failed to mention Canada—the one nation on this hemisphere which went into the war without waiting to be attacked; fifty-five of the ninety had never heard of the Atlantic Charter; and eighty-six of the ninety were unable to name even one of the Charter's provisions; sixty of the ninety do not know that Britain is providing the United States with military supplies under reverse lend-lease; and forty-five of the ninety do not know that the Irish Free State is neutral in this war and is not fighting.

Consider the meaning of the two facts that fifty-six per cent of the adult population of the United States are not aware, after all the discussions of a quarter of a century, that this country did not join the League of Nations; and that the same proportion, after years of heated discussion about the matter, do not know that the Irish Free State is neutral.

This condition is not special to America. The public in other countries would reveal not perhaps the same gaps of knowledge, but other gaps equally wide. This is a useful reminder for the work of education which lies ahead, a work in which a certain preliminary question must be asked, this question: Since it is a clear impossibility to pass on to the lay public the whole body of facts relating to foreign affairs, which group of facts must be emphasized, what knowledge is indispensable?

HAPPILY it is a fact that the plain man knows, often more clearly than the sophisticate, some of the elementary truths. He knows that the basic purpose of this war is peace, security, so that, freed from the menace of evil violence, men may pursue constructive purposes. He knows also that this ultimate end has been frustrated and is again gravely jeopardized by quarrels over the means; for the means, erected into theories, doctrines, ideologies, very quickly become more important than the end. The orthodox would rather suffer perdition than be saved by heresy. The divisions which thus disintegrate our society and are the real source of the power of the Hitlers are rooted far more in conflict of opinion and doctrine than in conflict of objective interest and welfare. Doctrinal partisanship blinds men to facts of almost self-evident order.

It is time, perhaps, for a little decent humility; to put it to ourselves why we have so often gone astray in the past in international doctrine; to adapt the warning of Cromwell and believe that at times we may be wrong; quarrelling with an ally, realize he may have some right on his side, and that, despite our passionate convictions of our own rightness, we may not look quite so right to the other fellow.



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BOOKS

Must the Machine Age Fail?

THE CONDITION OF MAN, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt Brace. 467 *pages.* $5.00

THE *Condition of Man,* 1944, is the third volume in a series. The first was *Technics and Civilization,* 1934, and the second *The Culture of Cities,* 1938. This latest work is an attempt to bring to bear all that is significant in the history of civilization to guide us through one of the great crises of human experience. The work is not a world history in the traditional sense but an interpretation of the flow of events, of the rise and fall of institutions in an endeavor to gather from man's successes and failures some factors that will rescue civilization from the tragic fate that befell other great civilizations of earlier times. The author is neither an alarmist nor a visionary but an intensely practical interpreter of present trends in terms of man's past experience.

There seem to be three outstanding features of *The Condition of Man* that merit consideration.

First, the author is emphatic that one of the causes of the present orgy of blood and sorrow and material destruction is the superlative lack of knowledge and correct interpretation of the history of civilization. This ignorance or lack of correct interpretation resulted from the generally accepted view of eighteenth century political reformers that the past had nothing to teach because it "is only the record of superstitions, frauds, miseries and lies"; and to the delusion of American historians of a generation ago that only contemporary history is important. "All history is important *because* it is contemporary," says the author. "He who knows only the events of the last century knows less than nothing about what is actually happening now or what is about to take place."

Second, the author makes a significant contribution through his analysis of the rise and fall of early civilization whose major trends and problems were in many respects strikingly analogous to those of our present time and of our recent past. The failure of Hellenic institutions to survive was due to two prime factors: lack of control of the processes of economic expansion in the interest of human betterment and refusal of the separate states to effect a permanent union in protection against a common enemy.

A flood of overseas commerce brought great riches, especially to Athens, which sought yet greater wealth and power through imperialistic expansion and exploitation of her allies, with consequent frustration of the last hope of Greece to form a confederation on a democratic basis. Isolationism and interstate conflicts destroyed every prospect of survival. Her failure to unite against a common enemy is reminiscent of a much more recent crisis. Facing the threat of Philip of Macedon to engulf them "they shut their eyes tightly to the danger, trusted promises made by Philip that were almost at once broken; and one by one they abandoned potential allies to the enemy in the hope that his appetite for conquest would be appeased and that they would find themselves overlooked—they appeased Philip too soon and resisted him too late."

Again, the Roman scene: The accumulation of great wealth through foreign conquest brought Oriental vices, slavery and final disintegration of the Roman social structure that sapped the vitality and destroyed the moral fibre of the Roman state. Her reach always exceeded her grasp; she could never find a substantial boundary until all civilized peoples had been brought under her sway and then she failed to assimilate the heterogeneous mass. Though she maintained comparative peace for two hundred years under the Empire it was a peace of domination and of suppression and exploitation. The collapse of the imperial structure was not due to conquest from without but to disintegration from within.

Third, Mr. Mumford ranges over the broad sweep of history, from the spread of Christianity and the development of feudal society to the

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rise of capitalism and of Protestantism, the emergence of the nation-states of Western Europe, and the eighteenth century revolutions. He sets the stage for the unfolding of the tragic play of forces that in our present century have all but blotted out our splendid civilization.

The author places special emphasis upon the eighteenth century revolutions. Mighty influences toward social progress and human betterment were implicit in these movements but they bore within themselves certain defects that only spelled frustration and defeat. A fatal defect was that because of capitalistic aggrandizement only the few benefitted by the revolutionary changes, while the lot of the masses was to a large extent hopeless poverty, ignorance and social degeneracy. "The rise of the machine and the fall of man are two parts of the same process; never have machines been more perfect and never before have men sunk so low, for the sub-human conduct that the Nazis have exhibited in the torture and extermination of their victims drops below the level of merely human brutality."

Capitalism and isolationism in the democratic nations are severely condemned for causing those nations to lose their former initiative, courage and adventurous spirit in the face of advancing Nazism. They took it lying down through fear of loss of markets and the threat of war. "The danger to human society today does not come solely from the active barbarians; it comes even more perhaps from those who in their hearts assented to the barbarians' purposes."

Mr. Mumford's way out of our dilemma is for man to make the machine his servant rather than his master. For capitalism to survive he believes it must subordinate private profit to public need. Technological progress has left social progress far behind. "We must work for effective brotherhood of man without letting further wars prove that the current pursuit of power, profit and all manner of national aggrandizement is treason to humanity: treason and national suicide."

DUDLEY F. MCCOLLUM

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By G. R. Treviranus

[From 1919 to 1932 the author was a member of the German Reichstag and for two years was a member of the Bruening Cabinet, which put him in close touch with the relations of the German Republic to Russia.]

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There Will Always Be a Brauchitsch

GERMAN RADIO PROPAGANDA, by Ernst Kris and Hans Speier. Oxford University Press. 529 pages. $4.00

THE GERMAN ARMY, by Herbert Rosinski. The Infantry Journal. 220 pages. $3.00

HITLER'S GENERALS, by W. E. Hart. Doubleday, Doran. 222 pages. $2.50

AS the war enters its last and decisive phase, the peace to come will depend largely on the solution of the problem of what to do with Germany after the war. Germany must be defeated on the battlefields, but it must also be defeated ideologically. We can defeat Germany only if we know our enemy. These three books try to contribute to that knowledge.

German Radio Propaganda is based on the correct assumption that radio was and still is Nazi-Germany's most used and most successful propaganda vehicle. It gives us a comprehensive analysis of how the Nazis see the war. This book presents the findings of two years of research and deals primarily with Goebbels's efforts inside Germany. It follows up the fluctuations of nazi propaganda, reveals what kind of lies are used to wage a psychological war on the Germans themselves. *German Radio Propaganda* is a diagnosis and I am not going to discuss the methods employed. I am myself engaged in active psychological warfare against the Nazis, and I know how valuable the findings of Dr. Kris' and Mr. Speier's associates are, for these findings constitute the indispensable foundation for effective counteraction. These men really know their enemy. They analyze trends and tendencies with amazing and necessary coolness and efficiency. For those who can let fly their imagination beyond charts and facts and statistics, this is an impressive story of the technique developed and applied to pervert and poison a nation's public opinion. It could be called "THE TRIUMPH OF THE LIE," justifying the decision and practice of the allies to fight nazi propaganda by telling the TRUTH.

Herbert Rosinski's *The German Army* is one of the best books published on this subject. Rosinski's familiarity with all the very complicated details and imponderables is certainly due to his historic outlook. He does not try for sensational disclosures or details. His analytical chapters and his conclusions are placed within the framework of history. The structure of the German Army, its "Weltanschauung" are explained by a man who is a specialist, but first of all a man who is able to deal with his subject as an historian. Military experts will appreciate his description of the part the Chief of Staff plays in the German military structure. Other readers will recognize that the German Army was first the Prussian army and then became part of Germany and even Germany itself. They will feel that what we need in order to get a durable and lasting peace is not only the destruction of that deadly and efficient machinery, but a change of mind on the part of all the Germans.

It has very often been said that a military education has been forced upon the German people, and that in order to get a "better" Germany, all we have to do is to impose on them a democratic education. Rosinski's "The German Army" is evidence that this is not true. The Germans love their army. They love the profession of soldier which to them is not a profession but rather a vocation and a distinction. I do not believe that there are nations which are "good" and others which are "bad" soldiers. I believe that every single nation can produce both good and bad soldiers—heroes and cowards. But if there is any structural and fundamental military pre-disposition, then the Germans are "born" soldiers.

Mr. Rosinski's book sometimes reveals what the Frenchmen call professional deformation. The author loves his subject, which does not mean that he loves the German Army. But his objectivity never becomes open sympathy. Many others were not able to avoid falling in love with "Germany's powerful and efficient army." Mr. Rosinski helps the readers to know their enemy. He does not say so, but his book and his conclusions impose an imperative duty on the victors of this war: to destroy the German Army thoroughly and to go to the roots of the evil. This book is excellent reading for the peace builders in all the nations. It could be added that Mr. Rosinski does not deal with the "merger" between the regular army and all the nazi military and semi-military organizations. Hitler has militarized the whole nation. There is no rift between the Party and the army now. Even those who tried to establish a line of demarcation between "army tradition" and Nazis, were grateful to Hitler for the splendid opportunity he gave the generals. No army in the world ever got so much for so little responsibility: weapons and promotion. And we should not forget that when Hitler seized

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power, the army, especially General von Schleicher, thought it could deal with Hitler, that it could double-cross him, use and then discard him.

There are intrigues and jealousies, but we should not fall for the legend of "chivalrous Prussian generals of aristocratic tradition" burning to get rid of Hitler, because he is a disgrace. If they burn to get rid of Hitler, it is because he failed, not because of what he tried to achieve. They may differ with him on methods —they never differed with him on the purpose: world domination. He will remain their God, somewhat considered with disdain as was the too vulgar William II, as long as he is successful. The very moment Hitler has definitely failed, the Generals will let him down and betray him exactly as they betrayed the Republic in spite of their oath of allegiance. German generals are characterless par excellence. There will always be a Brauchitsch.

* * *

Mr. Hart, who wrote the book *Hitler's Generals* is a man who served in the German and even for a certain time in the Nazi Army. He gives us nine portraits of men whose names have become familiar to American readers. Brauchitsch and Keitel have disappeared from the stage. Admiral Doenitz—the true portrait, by the way, of a careerist and opportunist—has so utterly failed with his U-boat warfare, that he is not very interesting. And what Mr. Hart tells us about the others, Colonel General von Fritsch, Fieldmarshal von Rundtstedt and the most overestimated of all German war generals, Rommel, sounds too sensational to impress us.

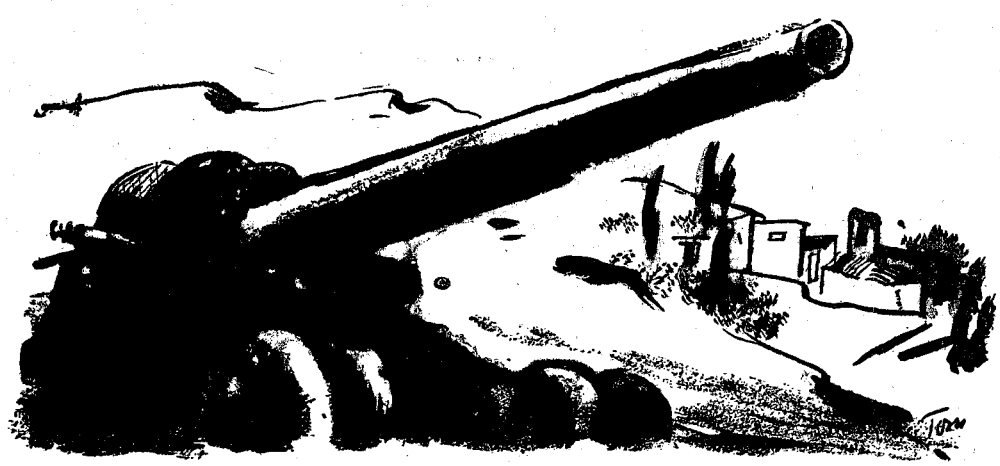
The murder of General von Fritsch during the Polish Campaign has become a standard thriller. It is, at this stage, unimportant to know how Fritsch was killed by the Gestapo. It is enough to know that a General was killed by the Pretorian Guard of the nazi regime to understand what an enemy we are fighting. Rommel's portrait is rather impressive, but I miss the story of his riotous and fanatic days when like a watchdog he slept in front of Hitler's hotel room.

The whole atmosphere of the SA and SS before Hitler came to power is permeated with the dirtiest stories. Rommel was a bum and now tries to be and to behave like an aristocratic Prussian general. It is characteristic that "Rommel Africanus" boasted to allied war correspondents taken prisoners in Africa that he already had chosen his rooms at the Hotel Shepheard in Cairo. He had been there before as a spy, "for reasons of health," and he probably could not forget those headquarters of his enemies, the British officers. The inferiority complex is one of the deepest reasons for the whole nazi movement, but some ruthless nazi characters can only be explained by a basic psychosis. They are not only incurable—they are contagious.

Mr. Hart's book makes interesting reading because it adds another chapter to our knowledge of the enemy. Unfortunately he does not debunk strongly enough the legend of the "chivalrous" German general. The generals are and have been as cruel and sadistic as the Gestapo leaders. General von Stuelpnagel in Paris—he is more "Prussian" even than Rundtstedt—Baron von Falkenhorst in Norway and many others, generals, Prussian generals, professional soldiers, have killed women and children, executed hostages without blinking.

Rundtstedt and Stuelpnagel have indoctrinated younger officers and the teachers in the different military academies in Germany with the idea that the nations bordering on Germany must be systematically decimated and exterminated in order to create the sound basis for the next war. If there had been no more than military lust for war, there would have been no Hitler. We must make no mistake about the true nature of the German generals, otherwise we shall have another war in twenty-five or thirty years. The German Army must be destroyed and also its roots, the "Junkers" and heavy industry. No use to idealize a German general. If a Nazi is a plain beast—a German General is a beast with the brains of an engineer.

HANS JACOB



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Russia's "Big Business"

MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, by G. Bienstock, S. Schwarz and A. Yugow. Oxford University Press. 183 *pages.* $3.00

THIS is the first volume in a series of international studies published under the auspices of the Institute of World Affairs, established by the New School for Social Research. It presents a detailed study of the machinery of Soviet management in industry and agriculture: the distribution of functions and powers in factory and farm; the origin, status, incentives and ideology of managerial personnel.

A study on management can cover but a corner of the whole problem of the productivity, equality and liberty of the people engaged in Russia's production. But the problem of industrial and farm managers is a clue to understanding both her economics and her sociology. The book compiled by G. Beinstock, S. Schwarz and A. Yugow is an important contribution to the literature on this subject. It is a factual study with a limited purpose. The discussion of abstract principles and concepts and of general trends in Soviet economics, politics and sociology and of their fluctuations, is beyond the space of the study.

No attempt is made to blame or to praise the government. "Contribution to higher national income by producing larger quantities of better and more useful goods was considered a success, the opposite a failure." Any other criteria which might be applied to Soviet economics, were deliberately avoided. The American reader will appreciate the reserve and caution in reaching conclusions.

For such a study, the crucial question is the reliability of information and material at hand. Except occasionally, the authors have not tried to go beyond June 22, 1941, the day of the German invasion. Their sources were, in the main, legislative material, including public discussions of Communist party bodies; extensive economic and legal literature (books, periodicals, and the daily press); and, finally, "use has been made of Soviet fiction" which has preserved its naturalistic tradition.

All these sources required delicate and cautious treatment. It would seem sometimes that in trying to compile and interpret data the authors read too much "between the lines." But as a rule they let the data speak without venturing daring hypotheses, since "even in legal and statistical matters, the great gaps and contradictions, and the fluidity of concepts," are too perplexing.

The reader must formulate his own judgments on many topics. For example, it has proved impossible for Mr. Yugow to compile a complete statistical picture of actual revenues and costs, and of the sources and allocation of profits, subsidies, capital reserves, and turnover tax of Soviet industry for a single year or five-year period, not to speak of a series of years. There is nothing in Russia comparable either to published reports of American corporations or to detailed estimated breakdowns of national income and expenditure. The material is as good as it can be, (x) the authors have made the best of it, and the study has not a "merely historical" but a high practical value.

Who in Russia makes decisions and shoulders responsibilities corresponding to those of an American businessman? How is responsibility shared between top government departments, intermediate organs for areas and industries, and a plant manager? How much can the State official decide and the Party official reverse? To whom does the plant manager or kolkhoz chairman owe ultimate allegiance? How much self-government or co-partnership or labor-union influence is there in the working community of a Russian industrial plant? How are elements of co-operation, State control and individual profit interrelated in collectively run farms? How are plants and farms related to State banks which dispense credit? How does the plant manager obtain liquid funds, raw material and machine parts? How does he supply others with his products? How is labor recruited? Who fixes wages and work conditions? To all these questions and a few others, the reader will find in this book concise, illuminating answers. They are apt to lead him to the conclusion that most of his ideas about modern Russia were wrong.

The fluctuations of Soviet economic policy reveal that the whole Soviet politico-economic system still is in transition; that theory more and more steps toward practice as greater flexibility is sought; that management is being relieved of "narrow-minded tutelage" and given necessary autonomy; that the Party apparatus inside the plant "is today scarcely more than a part of the industrial administration" and that relations between manager and Party secretary have taken on a new character; that labor-unions are definitely eliminated from the machinery of hiring labor and from the process of fixing

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(x) Most of it already has been used in the excellent study by Yugow "Russia at the Economic Front" (New York, 1943).

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wages; that government seeks to relax centralized planning and management to a certain degree, especially for local industry working for local consumption, that a radical reform in the supply system is "one of the most urgent tasks of Soviet economy"; that the desire to increase profits has become "a real incentive to more responsible, active and careful management."

The general impression is still that of learning by trial and error. But the picture has radically changed since the 1920's and early 30's. Soviet economy does not show theoretical rigidity any longer. Its purpose is the highest national income "in the shortest possible time" and anything that may contribute to that is considered a positive value. New solutions are being found daily, and not in the books of Karl Marx and Lenin.

The survey by Beinstock, Schwarz and Yugow seems to overlook or to minimize the fact that not only is the Soviet State a producer, but also a buyer and a salesman. It is rather a pity that specific study of trade and bank management is omitted, except where concerned with supply and credit problems of industry. Such a study might have thrown new light on the fact that economic opportunism is in full swing in modern Russia today.

There may be no planning without theory, but theories in Soviet Russia become legalization of practices which have proved expedient. Most interesting are the chapters dealing with incentives of Soviet management and labor. Although personal profit and privileges are one of its important components, the incentive of a plant manager or kolkhoz chairman is often very much like that in American non-profit organizations. In contradistinction, "passion for changes in technology and organization is regarded as indispensable in a manager and valuable in a worker." Herein lies another clue to understanding modern Soviet economics. "The Bolshevik manager is always an innovator," said Stalin in 1939. It would appear that the Bolshevik manager is always an innovator not so much because he is Bolshevik as because he is young. "If we divide the total population of the U.S.S.R. of twenty years and older into two groups, below and above forty years, the younger exceeds the older in number by 50 per cent. In the United States the younger group is smaller than the older by 3 per cent, in England and Wales by 15 per cent."

Still greater is the proportion of youth among industrial leaders and the technical personnel. "Of 70,000 engineers and technicians employed in heavy industry in 1938, 76.1 per cent were younger than forty." Because they are young and impatient they commit blunders, but because they are young they are eager to learn, and they will. The study shows that both plants and kolkhozes have begun to produce personalities capable of leadership.

The process the three authors have endeavored to describe is far from completed. It was in full swing when the German-Russian war began. The war may deflect it, but a knowledge of social change in the last years before the war can, perhaps, facilitate an understanding of coming events. The book is highly recommended to the American businessman. He should know something of his counterpart in modern Russia. The similarity of their problems and incentive today will surprise him pleasantly or unpleasantly; and possibly fill him with more hope for Russia than apprehension for his own country. In fact, it would seem that both Russian and American economics, if only in this time of emergency, are moving toward each other looking for best solutions of identical problems.

NICHOLAS P. VAKAR

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"Good Neighbor" Prospects

LATIN AMERICA AND THE INDUSTRIAL AGE, by J. Fred Rippy. Putnam. 262 pages. $3.00

THIS war gave Latin America an opportunity to further develop industries already established, and to create new ones. As a result, a long step was taken toward full industrialization. All Latin-American nations naturally hope to become industrialized, for they see here a complement to political independence. But light industries are not enough; thought must be given also to heavy industry, without which, many believe, no nation can be entirely independent.

The problem is highly important to relations between Latin America and the United States. Three things must be considered: (1) Should the United States help Latin-American countries to create and develop such industries as will compete with American production, thereby depriving this country of some of her markets? (2) During the war, the United States is cooperating toward Latin-American industrial development; once the war is over, should we go back to free competition with Latin-American industries—and by so doing perhaps force those industries to insuperable crises? (3) Is the United States interested in maintaining Latin-American industrial improvements? With a higher standard of living may not the nations South of the border become better markets for a large output of goods which only the United States will be able to produce?

As a Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Chicago, Mr. J. Fred Rippy's viewpoint is above all that of an historian. He has produced, however, an important contribution toward a study of post-war plans through an analysis of the past. "The essays included in this volume," he says, "are mainly introductory. They are intended to call attention to this vital subject, to fix the chronology of salient phases of the technological advance, and to identify some of its agents."

The book is dedicated "to the pioneers, North and South," and the following words by Vice-President Wallace are quoted as an epigraph: "I say that the century in which we are entering—the century which will come of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man . . . Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion . . . No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism . . . India, China and Latin America have a tremendous stake in the people's century . . . Modern science, when devoted wholeheartedly to the general welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not dream."

Following a preface and an introduction, both short and brief, there are twenty-two chapters, a few pages of "conclusions," and bibliographical notes about each chapter.

Below is a list of chapter titles, suggestive of the contents: Arrival of the steamboat; The First Railways; Arrival of the Telegraph; Henry Meiggs and the Early Peruvian Railways; The Way to Bogotá; Dawn of the Railway Era in Colombia; The Technological Modernization of Ecuador; Railroad to El Dorado; Ambassadors of Science and Technology in Brazil; The New Technology in Argentina; Technological Advance in Costa Rica During the Guardia Era; Technological Modernization in Guatemala; Dawn of the Railroad Epoch in Mexico; Railroad to Utopia, Short-cut to China; A Forgotten Episode in Plantation Rubber; Arrival of the Telephone in Latin America; Minerals for the Machine Age; Pioneering in Petroleum; Beginnings of the Electric Age; Collaboration in Sanitation and Medicine; Airways and the End of Isolation.

Facts, episodes and persons are brought into such vivid focus in the book that they often create the impression of fiction. Yet Mr. Rippy reaches practical conclusions. Formerly England prevailed in Latin America in matters of investments and technology. But after the first World War, United States' influence, always important, became increasingly marked. That of France, Germany and other countries was always more or less insignificant in comparison with the Anglo-Saxon countries.

> "The Latin Americans, of course, have acquired a good many of the skills and habits of the Industrial Age. Naturally, they have desired to control their own resources and manage their own mechanical devices."

The author examines the present-day situation in Latin America in respect to property and the exploitation of large public services—light, telephone, telegraph, city transportation, railroads, etc., and also ore mining. He says "the main contention of this volume, stated

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bluntly, is this: Capital and technology under corporate control have been and will continue to be a very fundamental factor in Pan American relationships. Whoever fails to recognize this fact convicts himself of superficiality; whoever seeks to divert attention from it must be viewed as prejudiced or uninformed. Capital and technology affect the daily lives of millions of people. At a time when attention is being shifted in some quarters to the purely cultural, to literature, art, folklore, folk costume and folkways, these economic forces should be emphasized. They are the constant, dynamic and relentless forces in Latin America and all the world. They will not be conjured away by the magic of poetry and song." And further on: "We cannot win or keep the friendship of our neighbors by joining them in reciting their poetry if at the same time some of our compatriots are oppressing their workers and charging exorbitant rates for services. We cannot drown their resentment by praising their music and art while we exploit their people and resources. If we are to gain and hold their friendship we must treat them as friends in these matters which so profoundly touch their everyday lives."

At a moment when Latin America shows unmistakable signs of worry over the post-war influence of American industry, which still leaps forward in giant strides, Mr. Rippy's book certainly deserves to be read and to be given a good deal of thought, not only in the United States but also in all the Americas.

OCTAVIO MANGABEIRA

A Check List of Forthcoming Books

THE MAKING OF MODERN GERMANY, by George Shuster and Arnold Bergstraesser. W. W. Norton. A survey of German history from medieval times to the attack on Poland by Adolf Hitler. The authors tell of age-old German efforts to build a democratic society in spite of the resistance of the leaders and at times of the masses of the German people. They give their answers to the questions: Why did republican government fail to survive and why did Hitler come to power?

FIGHTING WORDS. The Prize Winning Stories and Cartoons from the Armed Forces Service League Contest. Lippincott. Contributions of stories and cartoons from America's servicemen in all parts of the world make up this volume. Romance, nature and patriotism are among the varied themes of the stories while the settings range from a frontier town in Texas to the battlegrounds of North Africa.

REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA, by R. Coupland. Oxford University Press. Professor Coupland divides his study of the constitutional problem in India into three parts: the development of self-government which led to the existing constitution; the operation of the constitution in recent years; and an analysis of the main facts to be faced, with suggestions of possible ways of dealing with them.

WOODROW WILSON, by Gerald W. Johnson. Harper. Mr. Johnson and the editors of Look magazine collaborated in this biography to present a written account and pictorial record of the life of Woodrow Wilson. Beginning with his early years they follow Wilson's career from the time he became president of Princeton University up through his years in the White House—the war period, his postwar trips to Europe and his final defeat.

GATEWAY TO ASIA: SINKIANG, by Martin R. Norins (with an introduction by Owen Lattimore). John Day. A study of Sinkiang in which the author stresses the importance of the role China's "new dominion" will play in the future of China's national life. Because of its yet undeveloped resources of gold, oil, copper, coal and iron, he compares the province with California before 1849; points out that by its strategic position Sinkiang may offer direct military supply lines for the final assault on Japan.

ARTIST AT WAR, by George Biddle. Viking. A war correspondent's account of his experiences in Africa and Italy. His book is chiefly concerned with daily episodes in the life of the common soldier but includes portraits of their leaders, of the Italians and Arabs and of his fellow correspondents and artists.

PRELUDE TO SILENCE, by Arnold Brecht. Oxford University Press. Dr. Brecht analyzes the Weimar Republic, and how his country little by little lost her personal freedom. He describes the political fight in Germany against fascist and totalitarian principles.

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If Islands Were Ships

THE NAVY'S WAR, by Fletcher Pratt. With foreword by the Honorable Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. Harper. $2.75

THE strategy of a Pacific war had been widely and academically discussed for many years before Pearl Harbor. Thus the Japanese had no difficulty in determining what we thought they would do, and what we expected to do, if such a war should break.

But the Japanese prided themselves that they could outstrip American thinking. In a general fleet action our Navy expected to be able to wipe out the Japs; the Japanese planned to avoid any such show-downs, engaging in battle with our ships only when they outnumbered us. They knew we considered the battleship still the fundamental fleet unit. But they figured that this applied only to the high seas, and they planned that the war should be fought among the islands. The superior gun power and protection of American warships would be counterbalanced by a Japanese torpedo of enormously increased power.

In every class, as they knew, we had superiority of ships, but not all these could be deployed in the Pacific if they caught us at a time when we were at war in the Atlantic as well. Above all, Japan had ships that America had failed to count . . . numberless tiny coral atolls that when equipped with an airstrip became aircraft "carriers." After the sneak attack it was on the island-ships . . . the fleet of atolls . . . that they counted for the preponderance of might that would win the war. And if our aviation was on the whole superior to theirs, they "trained naval aviators so remorselessly that during one maneuver a single carrier lost seventeen planes trying to launch them in a gale."

This, briefly, is the "setting of the scene" for the Pacific War, as Mr. Pratt describes it. The author is a recognized authority on naval affairs, and he was assisted by the Navy Department in preparation of this book. As the late Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox pointed out in the preface, any author attempting to write the chronicle of a war in wartime is hampered by "reasons of security" that prevent him from even possessing all the relevant facts. Says Knox: "This is not a complete history of our early Pacific engagements, because there are still matters which remain conjectural. It is not an official history, because that will have to be released by the Navy Department. But it is close to each of these."

The author recalls that at the London Naval Conference the Japanese did a lot of squealing over the 5-5-3 capital ship ratio and the slight to their national honor involved, although this ratio actually increased their relative strength. But the ratio interested them less than two other things: a fairly low overall figure in ships held by the various powers, and the agreement by England and the United States not to fortify in the Pacific. They wanted to be sure that when things popped in Europe, England would not have a fleet to spare for Singapore. They wanted to be undisturbed in the task of turning the myriad Pacific isles they had held since the last war into units of the Japanese navy.

Through vivid chapters that portray our sea campaigns, the book reveals how the American Navy reacted to Japan's amendment of our classic plan for Pacific strategy. Japan, in amending, counted heavily on the fact that Americans really did not expect such a war at all. The Japanese launched their attack well ahead of their own schedule in order to take advantage of the war in the Atlantic, and also because they feared it might be too late once our ships and armaments program got well under way. They knew we could outdistance them in an armaments race. They relied on speed of victory, on the notion that while they had been clever enough to revise the classic plan, the American Navy would stick to its every detail.

The American Navy did stick pretty close to its classic pattern for a Pacific war, according to Mr. Pratt. But it, too, amended and adapted, —with a degree of speed and flexibility that proved disconcerting to the Japanese, although this was precisely what they might have expected had they been closer students of American character and history.

The United States Navy, so it seems from this book, is out to whittle down and destroy a Japanese myth. It aims to teach the Japanese that capital ships still are important, though their fire power may be in the planes that take off from a flight deck, rather than in 16-inch guns. It aims to disabuse the Japanese mind of the modern fairy tale that an island is a ship.

If islands were ships, the Japs might have ridden to victory 'ere now. Mr. Pratt's *The Navy's War,* creates the impression that not only are the capital ships of the ever-expanding U. S. Navy far more maneuverable than islands, the wits of American seamen move more swiftly, too, than those of the Japanese.

LAURA VITRAY

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

In the years between World War I and World War II, *ANTONIN BASCH,* then head of economic research of the Czechoslovak National Bank, was his nation's representative at a number of international economic conferences. Today this outstanding Czech scholar is a member of the Department of Economics of Columbia University. Dr. Basch's latest book, *The Danube Basin and the German Economic Sphere,* appeared recently.

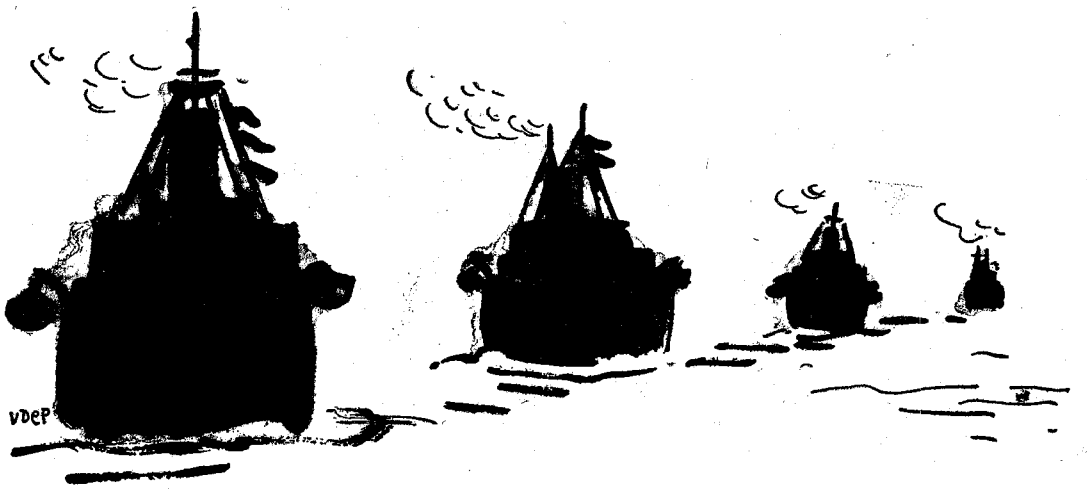
This month's poem, "Nocturne," is by *WITTER BYNNER,* a frequent contributor to our pages and author of *A Canticle of Pan* and numerous books of verse.

The cover design for this issue was drawn by the distinguished French artist *JEAN CARLU,* who also contributed "Arms for the Underground" on the cover of the February issue. Through application of modern ideas and techniques *CARLU* has greatly influenced contemporary advertising and poster art, gaining an international reputation as a poster artist. Formerly art director of the French Ministry of Information, he came to America in 1940 to arrange the France-at-War Room in the French Pavilion at the World's Fair. His talent is now serving the Allied cause.

On June 2, 1944, *FREE WORLD HOUSE* was dedicated in New York "to the cause of freedom of all men without distinction of race, color or creed . . . and to cooperation of nations within the framework of a world organization." Many noted persons took part in the colorful ceremonies that marked the opening of the beautiful and distinguished building at 144 Bleecker Street. Among them were Dr. Tsune-Chi Yu, Consul General of the Republic of China; Francis Edward Evans, C.M.G., Consul General of Great Britain; Guerin de Beaumont, Agent General of the French Committee of National Liberation; General Victor A. Yakhontoff; and Ricardo G. Hill, Consul General of Mexico. As a symbol of the opening, Mr. George Baldanzi presented the keys of *FREE WORLD HOUSE* to Mr. Jack P. Blanck, administrative secretary of FREE WORLD, and to Mr. Joseph Catalonotti, representing Free Italy American Labor Council, which now has its headquarters in the building.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, addressed those gathered for the opening of *FREE WORLD HOUSE* on the two kinds of freedom for which our generation is fighting and striving; freedom from oppression and slavery, and freedom for growth in prosperity, in brotherhood and in tolerance. His stirring talk is reprinted in this issue of the magazine. He himself is well known to Americans. A student of international law and a former professor of law at Columbia University and later at Yale, his appointment to the Supreme Court was confirmed by the Senate on April 17, 1939.

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the American Federation of Labor, has been a powerful factor in averting strikes and in ensuring the utmost contribution of American workers to wartime production. This veteran labor leader is profoundly interested also in international problems, especially means of raising the eco-



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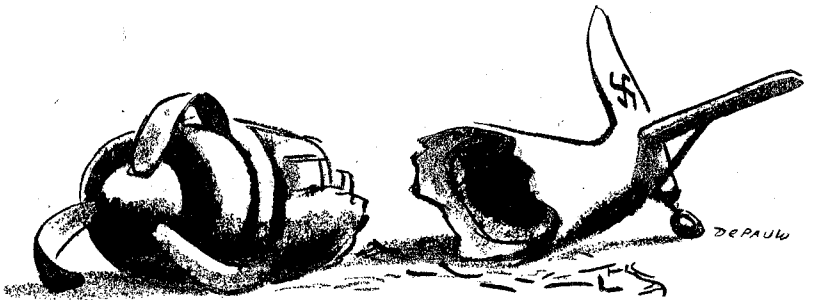

nomic standards of workers throughout the world.

New York City's "fighting mayor" *FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA* has ardently defended the common man's rights on many fronts and for many years. Prior to his election as mayor in 1934 he served fourteen years in the Congress of the United States. His keen analysis of the background of the Atlantic Charter and defense of it against those who might seek to scrap it by reinterpretation was delivered as an address at the opening of *FREE WORLD HOUSE* in New York City.

PHILIP MURRAY, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has demonstrated a broad knowledge of national and international economic problems. While his major concern is to see the war won, he believes that the millions of workers overseas look forward to a postwar world in which there is freedom from want. His article is a plea to plan for the peace now.

SENATOR CLAUDE D. PEPPER, member of the all-important Foreign Relations Committee, is now serving his second term in Congress. And his recent victory in the Florida Democratic primary was a strong indication that Florida intends to keep him as one of its representatives. The *SENATOR* has been unrelenting in his fight for measures to improve the welfare of the common man. As was demonstrated in his fight against the original Connally Resolution, he is a firm believer in the formation of a world organization.

Prior to his appointment as head of the French Military Mission in Washington, *MAJOR GENERAL DE SAINT-DIDIER* fought General Rommel's Afrika Corps in the Tunisian campaign in 1943. For the part he took in the operations of February, 1943, while commanding a motorized detachment composed of men from all branches of the service (which was in liaison with the American 34th Infantry Division) he was cited "a l'Ordre de l'Armee." He is an officer of the Légion d' Honneur, has the Croix de Guerre and many citations, and filled outstanding diplomatic posts during the years when France was not at war.

The prominent Polish poet, *JULIAN TUWIM,* was forced to leave Warsaw after the outbreak of war, going first to France, then to Portugal and Mexico, finally arriving in America in 1941. *MR. TUWIM'S* literary career began while he was a student of law and philosophy at the University of Warsaw. His first verses were published in 1918. The poet is now at work on a new book, *Polish Flowers. MR. TUWIM* is a strong supporter of the Polish group who favor Soviet-Polish friendship.

An invasion of Europe across the British Channel is something new in the history of the world. The Americans and the British have accomplished it, and the chapter our sons are writing now will be read for a thousand years. *MAX WERNER,* the well known military expert, presents an analysis of the invasion from the American point of view. Two other articles published in this issue complete the picture of the Allies' coalition front in Europe. *MR. WERNER* is the author of several books, among them *Attack Can Win in '43* and *The Great Offensive: The Strategy of Coalition Warfare.*

GENERAL VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF, who came to the United States in 1918 and has made this country his home ever since, was a general at thirty-five, serving for more than two years with the Russian Armies in World War I. Following the overthrow of the Czar he was recalled to Russia from Tokyo (where he had been stationed as military attache of the Imperial Russian Embassy) to serve as Assistant Secretary of War, and for a time as Acting Secretary, in the Kerensky cabinet. *GENERAL YAKHONTOFF* is the author of many books, among them *Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East, Chinese Soviets, Eyes on Japan, Over the Divide,* and has been on the American lecture platform since 1926.

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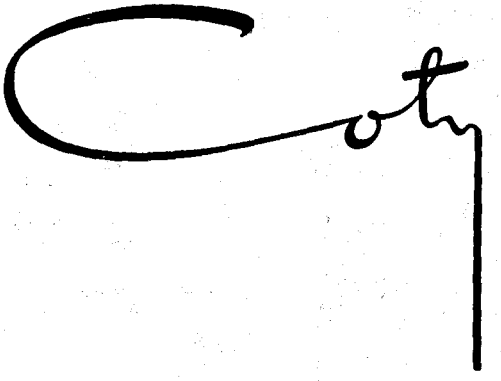

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